



Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-96-089
Tuesday
7 May 1996

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May 1996

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Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-96-089

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Albania: Kosovo PM's 'Serious Warnings' to EU Supported

AU0305185796 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian
3 May 96 p 2

[Commentary by N. Misini: "Dr. Bukoshi's Serious Warning"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In recent weeks, while a few hesitant and dim signs have been evident on the Serbian horizon of the inevitable need to talk to the Albanians, there have been a series of attacks that have claimed human lives. It does not seem as though these attacks will be quickly forgotten.

In two or three cases, the culprits are known, but in other cases we know only the victims. The situation in Kosova, always tense under the pressure of violence and state of siege, has assumed explosive dimensions and it is not at all sure that it can be controlled. The Albanians are thus being pushed one more step in the direction of a collective loss of patience, toward the breaking point, which they have neither wanted themselves nor wished on others.

In this situation that has been imposed on us, with who knows what intentions and for what reasons, Prime Minister Bukoshi of the republic of Kosova has been knocking on the doors of the chancelleries of Europe, perhaps just at the right moment, and certainly not just for the sake of a visit. He has sent a very significant letter to Mrs. Susanna Agnelli, chairman of the EU. This letter, with very firm phrases, contains the most serious warnings raised by the government and the Albanian people, and it must be believed that it will to the same degree claim the serious attention of European diplomats. If it receives no response, when it should be viewed with alarm, there can be no further doubt that, while Europe sees the problem of Kosova as a drop in the ocean, this drop could, to everybody's tragedy, be an omen of an uncontrollable storm.

The prime minister is clear: The present situation in Kosova cannot continue when the victims are children, as is the case in Vushtri [Vucitrin], and when it is clear that anything can happen. The Serbs are making a show of force, are openly carrying weapons, and are not hesitating to use them against defenseless Albanians. Therefore, we are now obliged to take the necessary measures to defend ourselves. This warning is doubtless fair and, in issuing it, Bukoshi is aware of the national responsibility of his government. In making such allusions in his letter, he is casting indirect glances at and nudging European diplomacy. The leadership of Kosova is well aware of the historical responsibility that he has shouldered and it is entirely clear that he is to

be praised for the political wisdom that he has shown in his letters to the international community.

The victimized Albanians have demonstrated political wisdom and an impressive collective patience. They have a respected leadership, consciously guiding a policy of peace. Why, then, has Europe pushed the Albanians into a situation in which attacks must erupt, with human casualties? A diplomacy that waits for issues to take their turn to come up for consideration, even though they are ripe for immediate treatment, is less a preventative policy than one of intervention when it is too late. Bukoshi is aware that his appeals so far have publicized the problem of Kosova, but have not hastened a solution at a time when a conflict of dramatic dimensions can still be prevented in its early stages. He now informs Mrs. Agnelli and the international community that the cause of Kosova is not lost. We would not like to allow such a thing, but our peaceful option against (Serbian) aggression requires support. Bukoshi adds that Serbian hegemony in the region cannot be permitted, because it could end in conflict. Kosova is now a test of the application of a single yardstick in international life.

Prime Minister Bukoshi is a man of great ability in our national political hierarchy. Together with President Rugova, he has repeatedly urged the use of preventative diplomacy to cut the Gordian knot in Kosova and to legitimize and support the natural and fair demands of the Albanian people for self-determination. How can this fail to be taken into consideration?

How can concessions be made to Belgrade at a time when it holds in oppression an entire people in occupied Kosova? Bukoshi's letter is an invitation for a diplomatic response and to understanding. It invites Serbia to a dialogue and issues a call to the conscience of Europe to react. This appeal is well-intentioned and its political vision is farsighted. It is clear that Bukoshi does not write letters as a prime-ministerial formality. His conclusions, in the form of a serious warning to the EU, also send a signal to the Albanian people in Kosova that the government will be forced to take measures to protect the people.

Bukoshi concludes his letter by expressing trust in the determination and vigilance of European diplomacy to defend at the proper time the inalienable rights of peoples, including those of the Albanians of Kosova. At these difficult moments, he appeals again to the international community, stressing his great respect for the patience of his people, who have given him a mandate to fight for them.

With such a letter, Bukoshi may be able to introduce a new urgency into European diplomacy to place the issue of Kosova on the agenda as soon as possible.

Albania: PS Protests 'Acts of Fascism' as Leaders' Cars Stoned

AU0505184796

[FBIS Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 4 May carries on pages 3 and 4 extensive coverage of "acts of fascism" in Burrel on 3 May, in which stones were thrown at Socialist Party (PS) leaders on their way to an electoral meeting.

A declaration issued by the PS Presidium in Tirana on 3 May, carried on page 4 under the headline "Fascist Violence of Elements of the State Under the Direction of Mat Police Chief Alfred Haxhia," and signed by PS General Secretary Gramoz Ruci, states, "In the course of its election campaign, the PS had planned to meet the voters of the town of Burrel on 3 May. In accordance with the Electoral Law and the law on organizing peaceful assemblies, the PS had requested and received official approval for the organization of the meeting. A short time before the meeting was to begin, at the entrance to the town of Burrel, plainclothes policemen and their entourage mounted a violent attack with stones and solid objects against the cars carrying the PS leaders, including Servet Pellumbi, deputy chairman; Namik Dokle, deputy chairman; Halil Lalaj, PS candidate for Mat District; and the deputies Fehmi Abdiu, Kastriot Islami, etc. They forcibly seized the video camera being used to film the PS's campaign and tried to physically assault the PS leaders. Mat police chief Alfred Haxhia, long known to have been the organizer of acts of violence perpetrated against PS Deputy Chairman Servet Pellumbi at a meeting in Lushnje before the referendum of 6 November 1994, was at the head of this fascist band.

"Even though the mercenaries and cannon fodder of the regime failed in their intentions and the meeting was held, these people forcibly entered the place where the meeting was being held, shouting slogans and attempting to strike at Servet Pellumbi, Namik Dokle, Fehmi Abdiu, Kastriot Islami, Halil Lalaj, and the PS leaders in Mat.

"The situation was extremely dangerous and was overcome only thanks to the determination of the people of Mat, who foiled the disgraceful scenario prepared by elements of the state. Nevertheless, as a result of this hooligan attack, PS chauffeur Ylli Shehu was seriously injured. Rasim Skura, chairman of the Eurosocialist Youth Forum for Mat District, and several PS members and supporters received serious blows, and serious

damage was caused to the cars in which the PS leaders were traveling.

"The PS resolutely and indignantly condemns this scenario as a repeat performance of Libofshe [site of violent incidents in by-elections of 1993], intended to destabilize the country, to terrorize the electorate, and to prevent the free and democratic competition of alternatives and the conduct of free and fair elections in Albania. Berisha's regime is aiming to retain power at all costs with the help of rubber truncheons—and why not firearms? The PS resolutely condemns both this scenario and the perverse ambitions that lie behind scenarios of violence. The PS long ago denounced the strategy of tension and violence prepared by the Berisha regime, hidden behind public statements guaranteeing free elections, and has admitted the possibility that the regime itself may resort to antidemocratic scenarios. The incident in Mat is a serious exposure of Berisha's regime, while the PS's conduct of its meeting proves that Berisha's scenario will end in shameful failure.

"The PS demands that the head of state should immediately stop these scenarios of violence and terror, and hold accountable under the law the organizers and executors of the fascist scenario of 3 May in Mat, coming out publicly and responsibly with a serious and genuine guarantee of free elections, and preparing himself seriously and calmly for a peaceful transfer of power into the hands of the opposition on the basis of the free votes of the people. The PS calls on its members and supporters not to be afraid or to flinch, and not to fall prey to fascist-style provocations such as that organized in the town of Burrel."

The paper also carries on page 3 a 400-word report of the incident in Burrel by an unnamed ZERI I POPULLIT correspondent, entitled "Sinister Chronicle of Sinister People," and 600 words of interviews by Valter Napoleoni with chauffeur Ylli Shehu, entitled "They Attacked Us on the Road," and with deputy Fehmi Abdiu, entitled "Police Chief Alfred Haxhia Was in Charge of Everything."

The paper carries on page 4 a 600-word PS protest addressed to President Berisha, the Central Electoral Commission, and Interior Minister Musaraj, demanding immediate intervention to put an end to these acts of fascism, and a 600-word criminal denunciation of Alfred Haxhia addressed to the Mat District Procurator and Procurator General Alush Dragosha.

Of the other Tirana papers published on 4 May, KOHA JONE carries on page 3 a 500-word Emin Barci report on the incident, entitled "Police Violence Against PS Leaders." GAZETA SHQIPTARE carries on page 3 a 300-word Elio Elini report entitled "Stones Against the

Socialists." POLI I QENDRES carries on page 3 a 300-word P.K. report entitled "Mat: Pellumbi's Car Written Off." RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE, RILINDJA, and REPUBLIKA do not report the incident in Burrel.

Albania: Burrel Incidents Blamed on Socialists' Provocation

AU0605084996 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE
in Albanian 5 May 96 p 3

[Article by Edi Paloka: "Police Intervened To Pacify the Situation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The incident that occurred in Burrel is as always being exploited in the basest fashion by the Socialist Party (PS) bosses. The Socialist bosses' tactic of increasing tension and causing incidents is now familiar. In Burrel too, they followed the same strategy. Servet Pellumbi, Namik Dokle, Kastriot Islami, and others arrogantly entered the town of Burrel accompanied by a bunch of filthy-haired ruffians whom they had brought from Tirana to mount a show of force. Tirana knows well who these people are that are escorting the Socialist bosses as their bodyguards. They are drawn from the dregs of society. They are people who menace businessmen, journalists, and everybody. It was with these people that the PS leaders entered Burrel. However, they did not confine themselves simply to a demonstrative show. The PS's meeting passed off in complete calm, but it seems that it was this very tranquility that did not please the PS bosses. As they took to the streets, the ruffians accompanying ruffian in chief Islami insulted with loud voices not only figures of the state and the Democratic Party (PD) but also the citizens of Burrel, who took offense at this attitude. Everybody has long known who K. Islami is, a man who throughout his "career" has been remembered only for extremist rallying cries and ugly provocations. There was no way that the Socialists' "spectacle" at Burrel could fail to provoke a response. No Albanian tolerates an insult, especially in his own home. Thus, the people of Burrel paid back those who had come from Tirana in the same coin. It was later only a handful of children that threw stones at the PS cars as a reward for their insults and threats.

Meanwhile, the Socialist newspapers ZERI I POPULLIT and KOHA JONE have been describing a state of war. They accuse the Burrel police commissar Mr. Alfred Haxhiu of being the culprit, when it was his intervention with that of the police that calmed the situation. Mr. Haxhiu explains that when he heard about the quarrel, he set off for the scene at once. "Kastriot Islami, as soon as he saw me, begged me to pacify the situation, although I had intervened without waiting for Islami to ask me," Mr. Haxhiu said, amazed

and disgusted by what he read in ZERI I POPULLIT and KOHA JONE yesterday. The police intervened, and even rescued Namik Dokle, who quietly went away to hold another meeting in Bulqize, while Kastriot Islami returned to Tirana. It was on the road that some children, whom the PS Presidium calls "hooligans," threw stones at him.

The PS's tactic is transparent. It is not for nothing that they have been talking about manipulation and tension for so long. This is their strategy of preparing themselves for defeat. Certain of losing, they are preparing for what they will say afterwards. Even after the 1992 elections, they talked about manipulation, citing ridiculous examples such as Kavaje. If you read ZERI I POPULLIT you must believe that even in 1992 the PD won Kavaje by rigging the votes. The Socialist bosses are preparing to do the same thing after 26 May, but to make themselves credible they are provoking incidents now for use later.

The Albanians know who is calling for skulls to be cracked, who is shouting for blood and issuing threats of prison. They see that while the PD's campaign offers popular festivals, the PS digs up the dregs of the society to howl for vengeance on the law.

Albania: Government Prohibits Private Subscriptions to Internet

AU0605070896 Tirana DREJT in Albanian
5 May 96 p 4

[Article by Henri Cili: "'Stop' to Private Persons on the Internet"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Tirana—Only a short time ago, the international computer communication network known as the Internet, with its postal service known as E-mail, arrived in Albania. Only six state institutions and not a single private person have been able to use a link to the Internet. The reason is that the Albanian Government has prohibited private subscribers from obtaining a link to the Internet.

D. Andoni, an expert on this matter for the UNDP, in whose offices in Tirana the Internet coordinating equipment has been installed, told DREJT, "We have refused the applications of private subscribers because we have been forbidden by the state authorities from supplying private persons with an entry code to the net." Andoni did not further explain the reasons given by the government for this "no" to private subscribers. Sources among individuals and private firms that have made such applications say that the reason why they have been refused is that the government claims that it cannot control the activities of private persons on the

Internet, and considers that there is a danger of computer crime.

Six state institutions, the Polytechnic University, the People's Assembly, the Prime Minister's Office, the

Harry Fultz Technical High School, the Soros Foundation, and the Presidency of the Republic are linked to the Internet in Albania. [passage omitted]

Bulgaria: Zhelev To Sign Decrees on Top Military Posts

AU0305083196 Sofia STANDART NEWS
in Bulgarian 3 May 96 p 9

[Article by Lidiya Kotseva: "President Announces Army Castling on St. George's Day"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The largest officer reshuffle in the last three to four years will be approved by President Zhelev on Army Day, St. George's Day.

Today President Zhelev is expected to sign the decrees on the reshuffle and promotions based on cabinet decisions adopted yesterday. Prime Minister Videnov also has to sign the decrees.

After the year-long quarrel between the Council of Ministers, the Presidency, and the General Staff, Supreme Commander in Chief Zhelev agreed to promote the officers proposed by the cabinet. Last spring, he refused to agree to the Army reshuffle proposed by the government.

Colonel General Petko Prokopiev will head the newly created Armed Forces Inspectorate. Lieutenant General Angel Katsarov, until now chief of the Defense Ministry's Intelligence Department, will be his deputy. Lieutenant General Kiril Ermenkov will be the Inspectorate's chief of staff. The six military inspection units will be headed by Major Generals Angel Marin and Ivan Binev, Captain First Rank Mincho Bakalov, Colonels Lilyan Dinkov, Emil Velinov, and Georgi Georgiev, who will inspect the special services.

Zakharin Iliev, until now commander of the Ground Forces, will be promoted to first deputy chief of the General Staff. Stefan Popov, until now the Air Force's deputy commander, will become deputy chief of the General Staff in charge of the Air Force. Angel Angelov, until now head of the Military Academy Staff, will become the commander of the Military Academy, replacing Ermenkov. Major General Todor Todorov, until now Third Army commander, will head the Staff of the Ground Forces.

Brigo Asparukhov, director of the National Intelligence Service, will be promoted to major general. Nikola Kolev, presidential adviser on Air Force issues, will become a colonel.

Bulgaria: Zhelev's Army Day Speech Focuses on NATO

AU0705120796 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 7 May 96
pp 1-2

[Article by Vasil Popov: "President Zhelyu Zhelev Makes Propaganda Speech Urging Army To Support NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bulgaria is the only state of the former socialist countries that has not clearly and categorically stated its desire to join NATO; it does not deserve this, and its army and officer corps deserve it even less, Zhelyu Zhelev told the representational army units that paraded in front of the Monument to the Tsar Liberator in Sofia yesterday. To commemorate Bulgarian Army Day, 10 military formations marched past in front of the National Assembly building under the command of Lieutenant General Mikho Mikhov. The parade was attended by Blagovest Sendov, representatives of the legislature and the executive, senior Bulgarian Army officers, former defense ministers, chiefs of General Staff, and veterans.

By joining NATO, apart from obtaining greater chances for our national security, we would be able to overcome the army's difficulties and the problems of the status of the officer, who deserves much more than he is getting now, President Zhelev continued in his campaign speech, without explaining how we will get all this served up to us on a silver platter.

Zhelev spoke about NATO's standards and about how the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] is placing the country in an ambiguous and equivocal position, which returns us to the past, with sad thoughts about the blood that Bulgaria had to shed for the shortsightedness of its politicians.

During the parade, a ceremony was held to consecrate regimental banners in front of the Church of St. George the Victorious.

Expanding cooperation with NATO, the WEU, Russia, Ukraine, and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are among the main directions of the government's national security policy, Zhan Videnov told the 13th tank brigade in Sliven. One priority is cooperation with the Balkan and Danube states, he said, and Bulgaria has a key role to play in restoring the Balkan dialogue. Videnov added that one of the government's main tasks is to build up the Bulgarian Armed Forces, which have the potential to resolve national security issues. In Sliven, the prime minister had a meeting at the Third Army Headquarters to mark Army Day, at the invitation of Sliven Mayor Yanko Yankov and Third Army Commander Ginyo Tonev. Videnov was briefed

on the army's structure and assignments. He unveiled the restored memorial to the bold fighters of the Seventh Cavalry Regiment, our correspondent Georgi Manginov reports.

Festivals to mark Army Day were also held in other towns throughout the country, Duma correspondents report. In the evening, a festive tattoo was also held in Sofia.

Bulgaria: Videnov Denies BSP Intends To Topple Him

AU0705135096 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian
7 May 96 p 2

[Staff report: "Videnov Denies BSP Intends To Remove Him From Posts"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At a meeting with the public in Sliven on 6 May, Prime Minister Zhan Videnov categorically denied that there is any intention within the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] to remove him from the party and state leadership because of his weak management.

He described KONTINENT's article of Monday, which dealt with the issue of who will be president, prime minister, and BSP leader by the end of the year, as incorrect. The time is long gone when in Bulgaria people used to be appointed by a party decision published in an editorial in RABOTNICHESKO DELO, pardon, KONTINENT, Videnov said. These issues are resolved in an entirely democratic way according to the will of the public, the prime minister said. He said that in such cases good journalists analyze public opinion, while the incompetent ones hang around in the corridors and make forecasts.

On Monday, KONTINENT wrote that a variant of removing Videnov from the posts of prime minister and party leader after the presidential elections is being prepared at No. 20 Positano Street [BSP headquarters], because of the unforgivable blunders Videnov has committed. At the end of December 1995 in a KONTINENT interview, Aleksandur Lilov appealed to Videnov to make some personnel changes in the Council of Ministers. At party meetings in various cities, Yanaki Stoilov, deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, said that the cabinet's activity was jeopardizing public confidence in the party.

Videnov forced Interior Minister Lyubomir Nachev to resign only after Bulgarian National Television showed him drinking in the company of female beauties after the brutal execution on Friday of three policemen by bandits in the Lyulin District in Sofia.

At the BSP municipal news conference in Plovdiv on Saturday, the prime minister announced that he would propose to parliament this week that it elect Nikolay Dobrev, chairman of the National Assembly Commission on National Security, as the new minister of interior. However, yesterday Dobrev denied in a conversation with party friends that he intends to assume the post, sources at BSP headquarters told KONTINENT. According to them, the prime minister was improvising at the news conference. The conversation between the prime minister and Dobrev, which was supposed to take place yesterday, did not materialize.

Yesterday, Krasimir Raydovski, chief of the government's Press Center, instructed Pencho Kovachev, chief of the Bulgarian National Television News Department, who was using his cellular telephone, on how to report on the prime minister's visit to Sliven. Reporters overheard the remark "do to him what you did to Nachev." Later, Mr. Raydovski jokingly said that this was a private conversation between him and Mr. Kovachev.

Yesterday Yanaki Stoilov, deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, called KONTINENT and said that the newspaper's Monday issue did not quote his statement at the municipal conference in Razgrad correctly. According to Stoilov, although the spirit of his statement was preserved, he denied having said: "I am amazed by the prime minister's apathy and his heroic efforts to protect his unprofessional ministers."

Bulgaria: No Comment From Dobrev on Appointment

AU0705134796 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian
7 May 96 pp 1-2

[Article by Ekaterina Nikolova and Elena Atanasova: "Nikolay Dobrev Has Not Yet Accepted the Interior Minister's Post"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sofia-Plovdiv—Yesterday Nikolay Dobrev, chairman of the Parliament's National Security Commission, did not confirm that he would accept the post of interior minister. Asked whether he would accept Videnov's proposal that he replace Nachev, Dobrev replied: "I do not want to face this question, I have not accepted anything." His meeting with the prime minister has reportedly been postponed, and DUMA writes that further negotiations are in progress—the man chosen by the prime minister to replace Lyubomir Nachev added. The BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] daily reported that a meeting between Dobrev and Videnov was scheduled for Monday [6 May], so that the man earmarked to lead the Interior Minister could say whether he agrees to sit in the vacated seat. Throughout the day, however, the prime

minister was in Sliven attending the Army Day celebrations there. This afternoon, the BSP Executive Bureau and the parliamentary group deputies will discuss the interior minister's replacement. The cabinet is due to meet prior to this meeting. According to Executive Bureau members, Dobrev is unlikely to decline the post.

In Ruse yesterday, Bulgarian Business Bloc leader George Ganchev proposed former National Security Service chief Arlin Antonov for interior minister. Ganchev warned that if Zhan Videnov fails to heed his advice, this time he will break his head.

The next one to go will be Finance Minister Dimitur Kostov, who is exhausting us with his high taxes, Reservist Colonel Georgi Damyanov declared at a gathering in Plovdiv's "Socialist Hyde Park." Electrical Engineer Ivan Zapryanov declared: The Zhan Videnov government has lost our trust due to the unaffordable prices it has imposed, and for this reason we will not vote for the BSP in the presidential elections. Boris Spasov, deputy of the BSP Parliamentary Group, tried to calm his party compatriots by assuring them that the rise in prices was unavoidable. His speech enraged a middle-aged woman, who shouted: "It's easy for you, with your salary of 30,000 a month." She then stomped off, followed by other members of the audience.

Bulgaria: Reporter Interviews Nachev at Cocktail Party

AU0505180096 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian
5 May 96 p 7

["24 CHASA" staff report, including interview with Interior Minister Lyubomir Nachev by television journalist Sevda Shishmanova in Sofia on 3 May: "Nachev's Fatal Night; After a Few Glasses With the Fashion Models, Nachev Dances the Twist in a Disco"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At 2200 hours on Friday, 3 May, Bulgarian National Televisions Efir-2 Program changed its news schedule to transmit a scandalous report by television journalist Sevda Shishmanova.

She managed to track down Interior Minister Lyubomir Nachev in the National Palace of Culture at a cocktail party held after a beauty competition organized by the Visage Agency.

Seated at a table in the company of Evgeniya Kalkandzhieva and another beauty, Minister Nachev said to Shishmanova: "You did not find me."

[Shishmanova] But I have found you, so that I simply....

[Nachev] No, no, I am with Zheni.

[Shishmanova] I want you to tell me why you have been hiding from our cameras all day, in connection with the tragic incident that occurred this morning with the three murdered police officers.

[Nachev] I have not been hiding, I've simply been in my office all day.

[Shishmanova] We did not find you at the site of the incident either; you did not come....

[Nachev] The telephones have been ringing continuously, you understand yourself that such an incident naturally provokes a very serious reaction on the ministry's part....

[Shishmanova] We obtained this reaction only at the chief secretary level.

[Nachev] I have not left my office the whole day.

[Shishmanova] Yet you found time to come here?

[Nachev] Only when I left the ministry.

[Shishmanova] During the three or four minutes that we have been talking, you have not said a word about expressing condolences.

[Nachev] I sent a telegram of condolence to the relatives, but that was in the afternoon.

[Shishmanova] What other reaction can we expect from you?

[Nachev] That which the law prescribes. We will do everything possible to track down the perpetrators of the crime and arrest them as soon as possible.

[Shishmanova] Good, but I have no other choice than to report that I found you surrounded by a bevy of beauties.

[Nachev] Go on, cut it out of your report. [passage omitted]

Despite Prime Minister Videnov's announcement, informed sources claim that Nachev's resignation was accepted not prior to the televised report, but yesterday morning [4 May].

Eye witnesses say that immediately after the cocktail party Nachev went on to the Orbita Disco, where he danced to twist and rock music until 0400. Observers consider that his resignation was probably demanded at about this time.

The interior minister left his office at 1400 hours on Friday, 3 May, although he said in front of the Bulgarian National Television cameras that he had been at the ministry all day. [passage omitted]

Bulgaria: Manner of Nachev's Resignation Criticized*AU0605135196 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 May 96 p 7*

[Commentary by Plamen Enchev: "Where To After the Resignation?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The resignation of a minister is not in itself an extraordinary event in a normal state. Usually it comes after a major public scandal, the discovering of some personal dirt, or pressure on the part of the opposition.

However, the case of Minister Nachev is different. The case is symptomatic of the culture and behavior of Bulgarian politicians and statesmen, when pressed to the wall.

Several months ago, there were two other resignations, those of Kiril Tsochev [former deputy prime minister and minister of trade] and Vasil Chichibaba [former minister of agriculture], also ministers of the Democratic Left government. However, there can be no comparison to Nachev's resignation. The minister of internal affairs declared his readiness to leave postfactum, only after the blood of the three slain policemen had been washed from the streets and their bodies moved away. He did not even express condolences. Indeed, he raised his hands and surrendered long before the tragic incident. Millions of people saw him on Friday night seated at a table in delightful company. Millions of people saw and understood that Bulgaria did not have a minister of internal affairs.

No highranking politician or statesman appeared on the same night on the same television to say something to the people, calm them, and, if necessary, enrage them.

On the other hand, the next day Prime Minister Videnov announced in Plovdiv who the next minister of interior would be. He did not do it on television, not even through his spokesman, but at an improvised news conference after a party conference.

Thus, according to Videnov, there will be no other resignations or changes before June. However, from the other end of Bulgaria Yanaki Stoilov [deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council] was already demanding personnel changes for the second time this week. Viewers and listeners are puzzling: Are there differences between the opinions of the Bulgarian Socialist Party leaders? They are probably waiting for someone to tell them.

It appears that what the Bulgarians need most today is not dollars but information. They need calm, thorough, and clear information as to what is happening in the

country. In the past, there was a prime minister [Dimitur Popov] who appealed to the people: "In the name of God, brothers, do not buy!" History will remember him by this sentence. Despite the difficult days of the shock therapy, no one was angry with him.

Today we need precisely such an open dialogue with the people. They need to hear in simple words what they should expect and why things are not moving. Moreover, the names of those who are causing trouble must be pointed out without any pity and they should be kicked out, again without any pity. History will not forgive us if we do not do it.

Bulgaria: Prodev Calls For 'Purifying' Party, State Leaders*AU0605130996 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 May 96 p 7*

[Untitled commentary by Stefan Prodev]

[FBIS Translated Text] The scandalous behavior of Minister Nachev shook our society. It thrust the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Democratic Left into a moral crisis. It emerged that unscrupulous people, people without any sense of responsibility or elementary political behavior have been active in the higher levels of government. This is not merely a matter of chance, but a personnel selection that gives cause for concern. We are witnessing the rudiments of moral degradation in people who are compromising our ancient virtues. They are destroying not only their personal prestige but also the prestige of the most powerful social force. In this realm, the lack of individual ethics develops into collective sin, which leads to confusion and despondency. In this context, Nachev's "television show" is more than a political incident. It implies that a process of decay has begun within the BSP. The diagnosis is cruel, but accurate. It requires a rapid remedy if we want to remain in power.

The diagnosis was established already at the March plenum, albeit in a careful manner. That plenum adopted decisions whose implementation could have spared us the current shock. Unfortunately, the decisions have not been implemented. Either there are people who disagree with them or the necessary willingness to implement them is not in evidence. Regardless of the reason, however, the deliberate delay is obvious. Perhaps the general merging of party and state posts, a phenomenon that also merges interests, paralyzes even the best intentions. Or perhaps there simply is no sense of realism. Whatever the reason, however, the situation is unenviable. The alarm bell that sounded on 10 March must be heard by all. Otherwise we are marching slowly but surely toward our suicide. We should not expect

anyone to be sorry for us, because there is no pity for a stained faith.

We have already heard that Nachev is leaving his post. A frivolous person is leaving the game. Is that enough? Certainly not, if we think seriously about it. The BSP leadership and the Council of Ministers need much more serious scrutiny. Zhan Videnov, personally, and no one else, should take the initiative. No one other than Videnov must clearly say what is he thinking and adopt the most drastic measures. Every hesitation on his part at present will be a sign of confusion and weakness. This will bring the party and the government to the brink of moral and political collapse. The task that the present period charges him with is a difficult one, but there is no choice. His hour has come. If he does not understand this, something irreparable will happen. It is precisely at such dramatic moments that fate tests the qualities of a particular person.

Of course, Zhan is not a lonely runner, and therefore, the whole party must call on him to act. The party itself must scrutinize its ranks and fearlessly attack the rot that is eating it up from within. It is in this area that the Supreme Council could finally show its wisdom. Finally, because until now this party forum often used just to play the role of political background. It is time to act. Let it be understood by all that the responsibility is not only personal, but also general. If necessary, a new party conference must be convened in order to provoke a catharsis and stop the illness. Even presidential elections should not scare us, if we want to be healed. Otherwise we will find ourselves at a dead end, and lose not only the elections but also our force. Who will benefit from that? It is scary even to think about it.

The lack of character on the part of a minister like Nachev should not be turned into a tragedy, but it also should not end merely with a resignation. This is a phenomenon that must be condemned by all and at all levels. The Democratic Left can no longer tolerate such ministers. The BSP should not promote such vaudeville ministers from its ranks. Neither personal negligence, nor personal sympathy or sentimental bias can be justified or excused. We are serving the people and no one has the right to sacrifice our mission because of his taste or weaknesses. Therefore instead of doing penance in sackcloth and ashes and hiding from the people, we must stand up like real men and look boldly around us. Those who gobble privileges and create rot must go! Those who think that the table has been laid for them must go! Those who think that they deserve our pity or forgiveness must be slapped in the face! This is the law that must guide us. It is a harsh but imperative law, because it is moral, and our policy cannot be implemented without morals. Therefore, our salvation

lies in purifying ourselves. The people are looking at us, and no one can hide. The one who does not want to pass through the purgatory must go! This applies to all, including those who have been elected to lead us.

Bulgaria: BSP's Stoilov Says Cabinet Changes Needed

AU0605083896 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian
5 May 96 p 3

[Article by Galina Mineva: "Yanaki Stoilov: Videnov Is Protecting His Unprofessional Ministers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Razgrad—If Zhan Videnov fails to make changes in his cabinet before parliament's summer recess, there is a real danger of a falling off in the membership of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). Yanaki Stoilov, deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, told local Socialists in Razgrad on 4 May. Stoilov added that only thus can the cabinet hold on to power for at least a few months. In Stoilov's view, the crisis in the government is a real fact. The shocks at the top will bear down with all their weight on the whole of society, and the nation will again have to pay for the consequences of the unprofessional administration, the Socialist official declared categorically. I am amazed by the prime minister's apathy [bezdushie] and his heroic efforts to protect his unprofessional ministers, Stoilov further declared, to applause from the delegates at the meeting. It is infuriating that for a year and a half now the ministers have rendered no accounts of what they are doing and what they are being paid for. In their place, political commissars from the government's team of advisers report to the public, the youngest strategist of the 100-year-old party declared. He admitted that a shortage of time and a lack of trust are now evident. He said that so far his fellow party members who had assumed government had failed to prove that they can cope with the disastrous situation in the financial sphere and agriculture.

In Stoilov's view, the spread of crime and corruption is creating the impression that a parallel government is in existence, tacitly tolerated through the inaction of the executive. Stoilov expressed alarm that the people who have been entrusted with ruling the country are incompetent. Venelin Uzunov, the Socialist mayor of Razgrad, thought that cabinet changes are urgently needed, and they have to start with the replacement of Finance Minister Dimitur Kostov.

Bulgaria: Purvanov Demands 'Thorough Cabinet Shuffle'

AU0605105096 Sofia STANDART NEWS
in Bulgarian 6 May 96 p 4

[Under rubric "Personal Opinion," quoted statement by Georgi Purvanov, deputy chairman of BSP Supreme Council; place and date not given: "I Expect a Thorough Cabinet Shuffle"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The affair of Minister Nachev's resignation should be utilized to carry out a more thorough cabinet shuffle. The interior minister's inadequate conduct represents a blow against the entire government and substantially complicates the personnel changes. The changes should have been made directly after the 10 March plenum of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] Supreme Council. Radical actions at the start of the summer are a way to rehabilitate both the cabinet and the whole of the Democratic Left administration. Zhan Videnov knows best which ministers are taking their last breaths. The Democratic Left Parliamentary Group and the BSP party leadership are planning to immediately stimulate the dialogue both inside and outside parliament with a view to involving more left-wing and nationally responsible forces in the country's government."

Bulgaria: Differences Among BSP Deputies Described

AU0605155096 Sofia 168 CHASA in Bulgarian
6-12 May 96 p 12

[Article by Nikolay Penchev: "Discontented Socialist Deputies Advise Union of Democratic Forces To Propose No-Confidence Vote"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The disagreements between our deputies may lead to a split in the Left's parliamentary group, a National Assembly deputy from the Democratic Left Parliamentary Group declared. Some comrades are already at the end of their tether, so it will be no wonder if they split off from the group.

Deputies unhappy with Zhan Videnov's policies are said to want to form their own subgroup to join battle with the prime minister's supporters in parliament. They reportedly will not actually leave the Democratic Left Parliamentary Group but simply want to stop having to abide by the Left's internal code and vote as they wish. In addition, some deputies from the Ecoglasnost Political Club are said to have joined the malcontents.

Petur Slabakov already demonstrated his refusal to obey orders when he openly voted against the agreement on the waters of the Mesta River that the government submitted for approval. From the speaking platform in

parliament, he urged his fellow party members to follow him.

The first success of the as yet unconstituted subgroup was to keep Granitski in his post of head of Bulgarian National Television. In the secret ballot, many of those unhappy with Zhan finally summoned the strength to rise against him. They were so proud of their success that they advised us to seek a vote of no confidence in the cabinet, saying that now was the moment to get rid of him, SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] Deputy Aleksandur Stoyanov said.

It cost us much effort to attain this success, a deputy of the Left who asked to remain anonymous said. At long last, some of the comrades dared to make a stand against Videnov, and they found that in fact this was not so scary. The discontents formed a secret group, and some of them are still masquerading as Videnov's supporters.

The inner parliamentary group will certainly want to provoke a confrontation if Videnov fails to replace the three ministers Nachev, Gechev, and Kostov in the immediate future. Their urgent replacement was also demanded in Kyustendil by Yanaki Stoilov, who would offer his shoulder in support of the internal opposition outside parliament.

Klara Marinova is also in the line of fire. She will most likely have to give up all her media functions. Nikolay Kamov has already been proposed as BSP spokesman on the grounds that he is a better communicator.

After Klara, the internal opposition allegedly wants to try to remove Krasimir Premyanov from his post as leader of the parliamentary group. To achieve this, talks are under way with most of the neutral deputies within the Democratic Left Parliamentary Group, who until now have been waiting to see where the wind is blowing before joining in the fray.

Bulgaria: Videnov Addresses BSP 1 May Celebration

AU0105155396 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 1 May 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Thousands of Sofia citizens and guests traveled to the square in front of the People's Palace of Culture today, the Day of the Working People's International Solidarity, to attend a rally organized by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme and Sofia City Councils. [passage omitted]

BSP City Council Chairman Aleksandur Marinov opened the rally at 1030 and greeted the participants.

BSP Supreme Council Chairman Zhan Videnov appealed for solidarity in the struggle against the crisis and said the following:

[Begin recording] The selfish political scuffles six years after the beginning of the transition did not allow the country to tackle the real economic problems. In addition, evading responsibility for governing the country during a crisis greatly aggravated our political life.

Today the opposition and the president, and Bulgaria's professional howlers from all political colors [audience jeers], are again pushing us in the same direction. They most cynically declare the goal of their efforts—new political crises, never-ending parliamentary elections, monarchist experiments with the constitution, and so on.

Let the gentlemen understand that the Bulgarian leftist forces will not allow this. [applause, exclamations] The Bulgarian people will oppose them in a worthy manner.

Several hundred politicians and statesmen cannot lift from ruins what several generations of Bulgarians have established in the stormy 20th century. However, this can and will be implemented with help from all of you—the millions of working people in Bulgaria—because the hope for a new and prosperous Bulgaria is alive. It resurrects itself every 1 May, and each time we celebrate the anniversary of the April 1876 Insurrection.

If we want freedom, justice, and solidarity, we must say no to destabilization and demagoguery and express our support for a responsible government and national self-confidence and dignity, even during the most complex years of transition.

I wish you a happy holiday! [end recording]

Bulgaria: BSP Denies Contacts With Kurds at Rallies

AU0305072896 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 2 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the incident involving Radio Free Europe journalist Georgi Kori-tarov that occurred during the May Day rally that the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] organized in front of the National Palace of Culture yesterday, and the commentaries disseminated by the mass media on this incident, the Press Center of the BSP and the Democratic Left Parliamentary Group is authorized to announce the following:

In the course of the preparations and organizing of the May Day events that the BSP mounted in Sofia and elsewhere in the country, the representatives and officials of the BSP Supreme Council did not establish any contacts whatsoever with representatives of the Kurdish community in Bulgaria, nor did they send any invitations to them to participate in these events.

Czech Republic: Possible 'First Phase' of NATO Expansion

AU0605142796 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES
in Czech 3 May 95 p 9

[CTK "analysis": "Apparently, Slovenia Will Get Into the Alliance Instead of Slovakia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brussels—The planned enlargement toward the east, which is the North Atlantic alliance's biggest challenge since the collapse of the Iron Curtain, is still concealed behind a veil of general phrases and evasive answers in NATO headquarters.

NATO officials concede that the alliance's enlargement is a task of fundamental importance for security and stability on the European Continent, but they refuse to say specifically how the alliance will proceed with its enlargement because this is, "first and foremost, a political decision."

"Who will be admitted and when is not discussed within NATO. It is only certain that NATO will be enlarged," said a senior official who did not wish to be named. He also refused to say anything more regarding the mounting speculation that the first phase of the alliance's enlargement has, in essence, already been decided upon. Such reports are making their way to the surface despite NATO's persistent endeavor to keep everything important under the lid as long as possible.

According to unconfirmed reports, the North Atlantic alliance has already decided to admit as new members at the end of the century just the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, and—conceivably—Slovenia. The other potential novices, including Slovakia, will apparently remain outside the alliance in the foreseeable future.

Nevertheless, British officials operating within NATO headquarters think it highly unlikely that the Czech Republic would become a new alliance member but not Slovakia. At the same time, diplomats concur in the view that leaving Slovakia out of the alliance could also damage the Czech Republic because it would thus become a buffer state.

NATO Secretary General Javier Solana, during his visit to Prague, gave no hint of which countries will be admitted to NATO first. Some Central and East European countries are already distressed because there will be no place for them in the first phase of admission.

Before its enlargement, however, NATO has to deal with the complicated dilemma of how to reassure the applicants for membership but not antagonize Russia, which is dismayed by the notion that it should merely pay for the redistribution of the spheres of influence in Europe.

"In enlarging the alliance, it is necessary to take Russia's role into consideration. Enlargement itself will increase stability on the continent and not endanger anyone," NATO officials state reassuringly.

NATO sources have confirmed that the outcome of the June presidential elections in Russia, in which the communists see one of their last chances of regaining power, will play a substantial role in the admission of new members. If, after all, the communists were to succeed, the process of NATO enlargement would probably be made more complicated.

"Nevertheless, the situation will not be clear even after the likely victory of Boris Yeltsin, because who can tell today what his state of health will be in the years to come?" commented an unnamed military official in the headquarters of the alliance's military command near Mons in Belgium.

According to British officials, however, after the Russian elections, it will be very hard for NATO to argue that more time is needed.

Meantime, NATO officials are constantly reiterating that the Partnership for Peace program, which is developing very successfully, is already playing an important role in creating new security structures on the continent. "The Partnership is a very good mechanism for mutual acquaintance and recognition," said General Jeremy MacKenzie in Mons.

The process of enlargement itself will follow a path of complicated stumbling blocks and will be far from smooth. One of the major problems will be the resources that the admission of the new members will require. According to some estimates, the outlay will amount to \$52 billion, over which a hard battle will have to be fought within the member countries.

"When the moment of truth comes, undoubtedly, the question will arise whether Russia represents a greater threat to NATO than the former USSR. And the reply from the intelligence services will be that Russia does not represent a greater threat. Therefore, it will be very hard to justify the outlay for enlargement," British officials point out.

Czech Republic: Dutch Army To Lease Grounds for Exercises

AU0605133896 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES
in Czech 2 May 96 p 1

[Report by "(gag)": "The Dutch Are Planning Military Exercises"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Karlovy Vary—The Netherlands Army plans to hold the biggest military maneuvers

in the Republic since November 1989 at the Hradiste exercise area east of Karlovy Vary. The exercises, with which Prime Minister Klaus's Cabinet has already expressed its agreement, will take place in June.

The exercises, code-named "Vitoria," will involve 1,200 troops and will be paid for by the Dutch. The cost of engaging one Czech professional will work out at roughly 700 korunas per day. The agreement being prepared also envisages compensation for any damage that could be caused by the maneuvers.

The NATO Army's interest in exercising near Karlovy Vary proceeds, according to Lieutenant Colonel Oldrich Stepanek of the Defense Ministry's costs center, from the attractive prices offered by the domestic army. The lieutenant colonel estimates the total sum the Dutch will pay at tens of millions of korunas.

The "Vitoria" maneuvers were preceded by repeated requests from the Dutch and also the Germans, Finns, British, and French concerning whether they could lease the Czech Army's polygons. General Staff experts claim that the local exercise grounds are attractive for Western armies because everything—water, moorland, cliffs, and forests—is concentrated in a small area within them.

The leader of the Karlovy Vary District Authority, Josef Turek, is not, of course, enthusiastic about the extensive exercises close to the spa town. Furthermore, according to Turek, the soldiers are attracted to the town not by walks along the colonnade, but by the erotic salons. "Karlovy Vary does not need such an advertisement," added the leader, who views the maneuvers as a tax for the Czech Republic's contemplated entry into NATO. "On the other hand, the exercises have been welcomed by the head of the district hospital, who is hoping for an interesting profit from treating injured Dutch troops," added Turek.

Czech Republic: Officials Support Increased Army Funding

AU0605160096 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES
in Czech 3 May 96 p 2

[Report by "gag, kac": "The Army Budget Will Increase by Approximately 10 Billion in the Coming Years"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Vladimir Suman (ODA), chairman of the Chamber of Deputies Security Committee, said after yesterday's session that the Army budget will increase in the coming years from 2.2 percent of the GDP, which is approximately 30 billion korunas [Kc], to 3 percent—that is, to some Kc40 billion.

At the same time, Suman confirmed that the Army is maimed by a shortage of funds. "I even think the Army

should get more than 3 percent," Suman said. At the same time, he admitted that he recently opposed any increases in the Army budget because the Army does not manage money well. "The Army ignored the double-entry accounting, so it has been impossible to determine where the funds went," he said. Suman also said that, if the Republic resigned on NATO membership, the government would have to spend much more than 40 million on defense.

Defense Minister Vilem Holan said that the Air Force suffers the most because the deteriorating Soviet aircraft swallow even more money. The minister sees a solution in purchasing new or even secondhand Western-made aircraft. According to Holan, only the new government can decide on this exceptionally costly step. "Nevertheless, it is a very pressing issue," the minister pointed out.

Stanislav Gross, chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party Deputies Club, among others, agrees with an increased budget for the Army. "The Army lacks funds for training, which is reflected in the reduced ability to defend the country," he claims. He admitted, however, that the government and the Chamber of Deputies contributed to the sad state of affairs in the Army. "One cannot hold the soldiers responsible for everything," Gross said.

Czech Republic: 'Old Regime Advocates' To Stay in Army

AU0605164096 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech
3 May 96 p 1

[Article by F. Jindřich Peroutka and Tomas Chalupa: "Holan Will Not Dismiss the Old Regime Advocates From the Army"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Defense Minister Vilem Holan (Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party) does not intend to dismiss the General Staff officers who oppose the current changes and allegedly maintain contact with former Defense Minister Miroslav Vacek (Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM]). Holan prefers to convince these people because, although more difficult, it is more effective.

The minister even refused to confirm yesterday that these people are actually in the Army. "I cannot say that there is someone today who does not support the transformation," Holan said verbatim. Nevertheless, his words of yesterday are in contradiction to his recent statement that part of the General Staff does not agree with reducing the Army and cutting its operating funds. Tomas Fejfar (Civic Democratic Party), Defense and Security Committee deputy, subsequently stated that at

least four senior General Staff officers maintain contact with former Defense Minister Vacek, who is the KSCM election leader in western Bohemia.

Although Holan admitted yesterday that certain reform measures are difficult to implement in the Army, it is not always a bad will. "Sometimes it is a matter of misunderstanding, at other times of incompetence but also of unwillingness," he said. According to him, in dealing with personnel matters, one must take into account that every officer "is technically qualified in certain respects, and in many aspects he may be a good soldier." In this context, the minister pointed out that the introduction of double-entry accounting, for instance, went very slowly in the entire Army, but in the end it succeeded. "I want to emphasize that we won this battle and that the information systems have worked since February," he added.

A high-ranking ministry official, who wishes to remain anonymous, recently spoke in favor of dismissing these officers. According to him, the contacts with General Vacek are absolutely unacceptable, and, as he told our paper, the minister should "issue a short order with these rebels." Nevertheless, nothing of this kind is in the works. As Vaclav Tichy, head of Holan's Public Relations Department, told us, these officers will retire precisely according to the criteria set in law.

Czech Republic: Poll: Support for Government Weakens in Apr

AU0605143096 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES
in Czech 3 May 96 p 2

[Report by "(jik)": "At the Beginning of April, Fewer People Trusted the Government Than at Any Other Time in Its Four-Year Term of Office"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—At the beginning of April, the Cabinet was trusted by fewer people than at any other time during its four-year term of office. That is, in a poll conducted by the Institute for Public Opinion Research [IVVM] involving 1,000 respondents, only 48 percent said that they trust the government. In March, this figure was 55 percent, and in February it was 50 percent.

The Chamber of Deputies has also lost 7 percent of its support since March—now, only 24 percent trust it, while 31 percent trusted it in March.

An IVVM official, Jiri Cesal, who compiled the poll results could not say categorically what could be the reason for such a rapid decline in confidence in the two institutions. "I can only put forward the hypothesis that, since certain opposition parties have commenced their election campaigns, dissatisfaction with government policy has manifested itself among a group of people, and this could have been projected in this survey. At the same time, however, it is important to point out that the April electoral preferences hardly differed from the March ones," said Cesal.

Trust in the government declined most—by 22 percent—in the group of respondents in the 15-to-19-year-old age bracket. In this context, Cesal did not rule out the possibility that, for example, young people view housing policy very sensitively. "The opposition parties are exploiting this very issue. So, it could also have had an impact on the overall results of this poll, although I would not bet on it," maintains Cesal.

Nevertheless, it is not out of the question that the decline in trust in the government is not in fact as dramatic as it seems compared with the March figures. In view of the fact that, since the beginning of the year, the number of those expressing confidence in it has hovered right on the 50-percent margin, it is probable that in March, when this figure jumped to 55 percent, it was a random fluctuation that, in April, returned to 50 percent again.

According to political preferences, confidence in the Cabinet among Civic Democratic Party voters has fallen from 88 percent in March to 83 percent in April, and among the social democrats' voters from 40 percent to 32 percent.

Only confidence in the president remained almost stable last month. Some 76 percent of respondents expressed confidence in Vaclav Havel; in March, this figure was just 1 percent higher.

Slovakia: Russia Favors Neutrality, Warns of NATO Expansion

LD0705093996 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0500 GMT 7 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Vladimir Lukin, foreign committee chairman of Russia's Lower Chamber, met with Deputy Parliament Speaker Jan Luptak and said Russia would prefer that Slovakia remain a neutral country as Russia is concerned about the possibility of NATO moving closer to its border.

At the meeting with Russian deputies, Jan Luptak said the Association of the Workers in Slovakia [ZRS] did not oppose the country's admission to NATO but said a referendum must be held on the issue. Luptak also said the ZRS was in favor of Slovakia's neutrality.

In an interview with TASR, Vladimir Lukin said that if NATO expanded east, Russia would be forced to take care of its security in its own way and would not coordinate its actions with other security systems.

Slovakia: President 'Prevented' From Attending Ceremony

AU0705095096

[FBIS Report] Slovak newspapers on 4 and 6 May report on President Kovac's unsuccessful attempt to attend a ceremony held on 4 May at Brezova pod Bradlom to mark the 77th anniversary of the death of Milan Rastislav Stefanik, Slovak politician and scientist and a founder of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 4 May on page 2 carries 300-word "excerpts" from President Kovac's speech broadcast on Slovak Radio and Slovak Television on 3 May "on the occasion of the 77th anniversary of the tragic death of General Milan Rastislav Stefanik." In the speech, Kovac pays tribute to Stefanik and his work for Slovakia and deplores that "unfortunately, our sad practice of ignoring the head of state, a practice that is unworthy of Stefanik, has prevented me from going to Brezova," the venue of the ceremony.

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 4 May on pages 1 and 2 carries a 400-word report by Zita Sujova entitled "We Did Not Invite the President Because We Decided So, Says Municipal Office Chief M. Matusovicova." The report states that the organizers of the nationwide commemorative event held in honor of the 77th anniversary of the death of Gen. Stefanik "did not demonstrate any interest in the presence of the president of the Republic." Vladimir Stefko, the president's spokesman, is quoted as telling NARODNA OBRODA that the President's Office inquired at the respective Municipal Office and at the National Council

of the Slovak Republic, NRSR, about who organizes the event. Subsequently, it tried "to find a channel through which the president would be allowed to participate in the ceremony but did not receive a positive response." That is why the president asked to be allowed to speak on television and radio, Stefko says. The VTV network reportedly "turned down his request."

As the NARODNA OBRODA report goes on to say, the organizers of the event were the Brezova pod Bradlom Municipal Office, the Slovak Ministries of Culture, Foreign Affairs, and Defense, and "other state and municipal bodies." When the NARODNA OBRODA correspondent inquired why the organizing municipality did not invite the president to attend, Mirka Matusovicova, the Municipal Office chief, reportedly replied "because we decided not to" and refused to elaborate.

Sujova concludes the report by saying: "According to Vladimir Stefko, the Office of the President of the Slovak Republic has met with similar reactions on almost every such occasion. 'During the last year, representatives of the state administration have been avoiding meetings with the president. They either expressly refuse to meet him, 'fall ill,' or are 'suddenly summoned to a meeting in Bratislava,' Stefko said."

According to a report on the Stefanik anniversary festivities published in Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 6 May on pages 1 and 2, official guests at the 4 May ceremony included Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, NRSR; Culture Minister Ivan Hudec; Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk; Defense Minister Jan Sitek; Jozef Markus, chairman of the Slovak Heritage Foundation; representatives of the diplomatic corps; representatives of state administration and self-administration bodies of Senica District; as well as representatives of churches and cultural organizations named after Stefanik.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 6 May on page 2 carries a 300-word report by "zb" entitled "President in Kosice, He Did Not Receive Invitation to Bradlo." According to the report, in an interview for the Kosice private radio station TOP on 5 May, President Michal Kovac spoke, among other things, "about his nonparticipation in the Bradlo ceremony on Saturday. 'Unfortunately, the organizers did not invite me, so I had to solve the issue by asking to speak on Slovak television and Slovak radio,' Michal Kovac said. 'I am not very happy that problems linger on in our country that prevent organizers from inviting simultaneously the prime minister, the NRSR chairman, and the president and that indirect pressure is being brought to bear on organizers who would like to see all three. Even in this case, matters developed in such a way that I did not receive a

proper invitation. The explanations were varied, but I know the reason."

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 6 May on page 2 publishes a 300-word report by Tibor Ico on the celebrations of the "Days of the City of Kosice" in the east Slovak capital during the weekend, in the presence of President Michal Kovac. According to the report, "an oddity was the participation of Christian Democratic Movement Chairman Jan Carnogursky alongside the Kosice mayor and the absence of invited official representatives of the Government of the Slovak Republic."

Slovakia: Meciar Discusses Privatization Process Issues

LD0605170396 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 6 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The privatization process has slowed over the last few weeks and months, threatening some deadlines for the transformation of the Slovak economy. We interviewed Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar about the causes of this slowdown, ways to revive the privatization process, and the government's fundamental philosophy through this phase.

[Begin Meciar recording] It is true that the presidium of the National Property Fund has failed to adopt certain decisions and that the number of its sessions has been substantially lower than previously—due to subjective factors. Political parties are holding intensive talks to discuss this situation and are looking for specific steps to revive the dynamics of the privatization process. We originally wanted to have all this completed by the end of June this year. It was a realistic and obtainable target. That is why all these subjective factors must be reassessed and changed.

Further, according to privatization logic, the purpose is not to sell the property to foreigners below cost. The purpose is to distribute this property among the citizens of the Slovak Republic, and privatization methods—such as the employees' method or the bond method—have taken this into account. It is also aimed at the creation of a Slovak capital stratum which will bear the economic interests of the Slovak Republic or companies, acting jointly with others.

We have embarked on this path, and despite the fact that at the beginning nobody trusted it, calling it the third way or the impassable way, it is now bearing fruit.

The government does not manage the privatization process. This is a great mistake. This process is outside the powers of the government and the government does not intervene in it, with the exception of transferring companies from state ownership to the ownership of the

National Property Fund. The government is not involved in any subsequent operations.

Dissatisfied people are turning to the government, but the government is in fact careful to avoid lobbying in anyone's interest or entering this process to decide who would be the buyer and under which conditions. We do not do this.

When looking at individual business plans, we can see that although a very detailed system of checking has been built within the National Property Fund, certain groups or people whose plans look fantastic on paper but whose potential for implementation is not checked pass through the system. As a result, some people literally enrich themselves. They cut the number of employees, output, and productivity at the expense of working people. They get rich fast and then they disappear. There are such cases. We are trying to trace them and draw some conclusions.

There are certain cases that we consider to be economic nonsense. We are trying to put them right. I could list individual cases, but today I will not use the opportunity to do so. All this means that the government gets involved in the process only after the broth has been cooked and it is to be cooled down and eaten. Hence, in this respect, the government's position does not play any decisive role.

In spite of all that I said, as yet no serious damage has occurred in these operations, worth billions, which would necessitate a change in the system of privatization or decisions taken within its framework. The process has not been completed yet. There are some 200 firms and companies to be privatized. The current phase will be completed once these companies have been privatized.

We do not want to privatize the gas and power industries. Nor do we intend to privatize all the other industries and property which—in our election campaign—we promised the citizens not to privatize and which at present are protected by the law of the Slovak Republic. [end recording]

Slovakia: Meciar Calls For Honesty in Journalism

LD0305132996 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 3 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovak Government and its prime minister have attracted the attention of some transatlantic media on the occasion of World Free Press Day. We have told you about the unflattering words of the New York Committee to Protect Journalists connected with adherence to the principles of press freedom in Slovakia. It is for this reason that we asked Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar how he understood the

relations between himself and journalists and what he understood under the notion of journalist's freedom.

[Begin Meciar recording] I would not like to be too subjective because there are a few nasty things which could be said about the relationship of the media towards me. On the other hand, there are quite a few positive things. I do not want to mention fabricated scandals and the spreading of lies and untruths. There have been too many of them in the past few years. That is personal and I am still affected by it but it does not mean that it predetermines my relationship toward journalists in general nor that it influences the relationship of a politician towards journalism. One cannot exist without the other.

If I were to express a wish, I would like to return to my statement which was criticized by everybody in 1992: Journalists should be free. Journalists have the opportunity to express their views in public, and words are exceptionally strong weapons. But every journalist should have a conscience and he or she should follow ethical norms. Freedom should serve information about the struggle with evil. Words should not serve as instruments for inciting evil or for doing away with anybody because a moral murder is also antisocial.

Slovakia is undergoing a certain stage, namely, we find ourselves between two extremes. One extreme is anarchy wherein everything is allowed, everything is possible, and nothing is sacred. The second militant pole is making an attempt at introducing some kind of regulation or control over everything. Both extremes are condemned to failure.

The Slovak Republic and its journalists are undergoing a test of professionalism and a test of international acceptance. We are being accepted not only as politicians but also as journalists and commentators. The latter are being quoted and their views and attitudes are used abroad. This is a big developmental dynamic phase and both sides have the freedom to make mistakes. However, the mistakes should not be essential, there should not be any animosity, and there should be a respect for truth and facts. [end recording]

Slovakia: Ducky Discusses Trade Balance, Mochovce, Privatization

AU0605175896 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
3 May 96 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Slovak Economy Minister Jan Ducky by Martin Benko; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Benko] The Slovak Republic's foreign trade balance shows a deficit. Is this going to be

the case throughout the year, especially since we plan to import expensive technical equipment?

[Ducky] It is good that the time has finally come when the trade balance includes a greater percentage of investment imports. The past five years were rather poor in this respect, which was damaging for the technical field. If this did not change, we would have to fear the future, because we would not have prepared the groundwork for a new type of production. To a certain degree I am not bothered by the deficit, as long as we do not consume the imports—that is, as long as we import investments for Mochovce, for instance, Slovnaft, engineering, or metallurgy. We are careful because we do not want our exports to stop. As long as the investments have such a structure, it is a desirable trend.

[Benko] Exports play an important role in generating the gross domestic product. How can the Economy Ministry contribute to making the proexport measures and the work of the trade-economic sections at our embassies abroad more effective?

[Ducky] The bill on the support and development of exports is ready and has been submitted to the Legislative Council. A fund for supporting exports will be established in the amount of 0.1 percent of all exports and import bills. The sum in question is easy to figure out from the foreign trade turnover. The state will match the amount. Using these joint funds, we will reinforce our trade-economic missions abroad with the help of the so-called large solidarity of the largest enterprises. I expect that this can begin to function partially on 1 July and completely next year. One of the strongest forms of exports is the rate of the Slovak koruna, which is in the very proexport range.

[Benko] Several days ago, contracts were signed for deliveries to complete the first two units of the Mochovce nuclear power plant. How will the implementation of this project be reflected in the price of electricity?

[Ducky] Favorably. The reports that the price of electricity will increase because of Mochovce are nonsense and have no foundation. The completion translates to 10-15 percent of the construction because they have been 90 percent, respectively 85 percent completed. The price of imported electricity is substantially higher than the one at which we are able to produce it now or will be able to in the future. There is a certain maliciousness in linking the completion of Mochovce with the contemplated adjustment of electricity prices, including gas and other utilities.

[Benko] Nevertheless, we will probably not be able to avoid an increase in electricity prices, as well as gas, before the end of the year.

[Ducky] This does not depend just on me. It is my responsibility to make certain that the prices are competitive and marketable. That is a prerequisite for suppliers to maintain quality maintenance, especially paying off new investments. The prices should increase but it is up to the government to assess the proposal of their adjustment. The adjustment should be very small this year. We are talking about 5 percent so far, differentiated between gross consumers and the population. The extent should be reasonable. It is never a good idea to talk about price increases but it would be even worse if we did not discuss and contemplate it. In such an instance, we could experience the same situation as some neighboring countries, where the price of electricity went up suddenly by some 600-1,000 percent.

[Benko] The first priority in completing Mochovce is its operating safety. What are the risks?

[Ducky] Safety is the first priority, which is why construction is taking so long. This is why we ruled out the original regulation and control system in Czechoslovakia and replaced it with one made by Siemens, which won the tender and installed the system for 100 million German marks. We are successfully paying it off through electricity for the German firm Bayerwerk. Security is being discussed more by our partners—in this instance, the Eucom consortium, which consists of Framatom and Siemens. The Bavarian minister president highly praised this project with Siemens and guaranteed German participation in its implementation. This type of completion will improve Mochovce's safety.

[Benko] All the decisions concerning the privatization of the enterprises included in the process are to be made by the end of June. Are the enterprises managed by your ministry ready for this?

[Ducky] Practically all the privatization projects for which the Economy Ministry is responsible have been clarified. We are only cooperating with the National Property Fund and the Privatization Ministry on their documentation. It will be great when privatization will finally be over, and not only for us at home but also abroad, because with privatization comes numerous battles ranging from political to personal ones. There will not be peace until the privatization is completed. Foreign investors interested in the Slovak market will then be able to face identifiable owners, with whom they will be able to discuss their participation, cooperation, or business contacts.

[Benko] What was the greatest privatization battle in which you participated?

[Ducky] The largest battle undoubtedly concerned the post of the Industry Union president, when I tried to convince the then government coalition and political circles that we must create a domestic entrepreneurial class. This concerns power generation, especially Mochovce. I am glad that the situation has reached the present consensus and that we only have to deal with problems of how to choose the cheapest money. I assure you that we pressured all the creditors who were suddenly interested in the Mochovce project. During the storm that surrounded them, we were left alone, and on the day of the signing, the offers of financing doubled, and offers even came from those who did not want to finance a nuclear power plant.

Slovakia: HZDS Sees CPJ Statement on Meciar as 'Work of Opposition'

AU0605154896 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 3 May 96 p 3

[Statement by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia issued in Bratislava on 2 May: "Calling Card of the Work of the Opposition Headed by the President"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The statement by the New York-based Committee for the Protection of Journalists [CPJ] ranking Vladimir Meciar, Slovak prime minister and chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], among totalitarian representatives of the contemporary world is perceived by the HZDS as the calling card of the work of the present opposition headed by Michal Kovac, president of the Slovak Republic. On the second plane, the HZDS perceives this CPJ Chairman William Orme Jr.'s statement, also infamous in Slovakia, as a provocation, aimed at casting the shadow of a nondemocratic, totalitarian state at the young Slovak Republic. Comparing the Slovak Republic with countries in which journalists are being physically liquidated is absurd and misguided, not to mention the fact that no cases of restriction of freedom of speech have been registered in our country and no one is being politically persecuted. The HZDS will therefore demand, through its club of deputies in the National Council of the Slovak Republic, that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic sent a protest statement to W. Orme.

Slovakia: Duray Says Hungarians Close To Proclaiming Autonomy

AU0705100596 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 4 May 96 p 6

[Report by TASR: "Miklos Duray: Proclaiming Territorial Autonomy Is Self-Preservation Reflex"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brussels—The attitude of the present Slovak Government toward the Hungarian ethnic minority makes its leaders sound the alarm, the Belgian daily LE SOIR wrote in a report from Slovakia yesterday.

"Over the last few months, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Germans, and Ukrainians have been given a number of motives to fear the real intentions of Vladimir Meciar's government: assimilation or departure, subjugation or exile," writes the author, Edouard van Velthem, and enumerates recent Slovak legislative steps. "There is a language law that turns the exclusive use of Slovak into a proof of loyalty toward the state. There is a new administrative arrangement, prepared to reinforce control by the government power over the citizen and to eliminate regions, in which the non-Slovak group could maintain majority," the report continues.

"But the worst is yet to come," says Coexistence Chairman Mikulas Duray, who, according to the newspaper, is a former dissident repeatedly jailed by the communist regime, who commands great prestige among his supporters.

According to Duray, two laws currently under preparation will go even further in negating Hungarian culture. "Foundations, from which numerous Hungarians schools can draw funds for their survival, will be banned. Furthermore, Matica Slovenska [Slovak Heritage Foundation], the pure personification of the government, will soon have the right to exercise control over everything, from education down to the minorities' culture," says Miklos Duray.

"The present situation is such that we are very close to taking the step of proclaiming territorial autonomy. Not as a provocative gesture, but as a simple self-defense reflex," says the Coexistence leader, who is skeptical regarding the possibility of winning the support of the Slovak opposition for his demands. "The political sphere in Slovakia is divided on every issue, but when it comes to the Hungarian question, it finds its unity," Miklos Duray says.

Slovakia: Commentary Views Coalition's 'Growing Popularity'

AU0605155896 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 3 May 96 p 9

[Commentary by Ivan Samel: "Short Talk About Long Sausages"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The latest poll by Slovak Radio's Methodological Research Department has indicated an evident shift in the preferences for political entities and a certain turning point in their development. Although only 67.3 percent of eligible voters were able to reply to the question of whom they would vote for and although the majority of changes were within the margin of possible statistical error, it can be said that, compared with the March poll, the scales have tipped in favor of the parties of the government coalition. The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], for which 5-percent more voters would cast their votes than in March, has experienced the greatest rise, but the Slovak National Party [SNS] and the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] have also improved their positions by approximately one percentage point each. On the other hand, the preferences of all opposition parties have declined by several tenths of a percent, with the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] experiencing the greatest outflow of 2 percent of its voters.

The previous polls showed rather the opposite trend. Dusan Slobodnik [chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic Foreign Affairs Committee] once said that, once they [the government coalition] have the electronic media in their hands, everything in Slovakia will be different. The present situation demonstrates that he was not wrong.

The greatest media events for STV [Slovak Television] between the end of March and the end of April were the public testimonies of "secret witnesses" in the affair of Michal Kovac Jr.'s kidnapping, the publication of excerpts from the "top secret" investigation file, and statements by Major Jozef Ciz, investigator of the case. The whole campaign was aimed at confirming the version of self-abduction, proclaimed by the HZDS chairman, and denying the version championed, first and foremost, by the KDH about the participation of Slovak Information Service [SIS] personnel and equipment in the kidnapping.

This is one of the possible causes of shifts in the preferences of political entities, and it has, apart from a primary reason—confirmation of participation by a state institution in a terrorist act is extremely unpleasant—also a secondary reason. Despite the latest decline in voters' support, the KDH is, at present, not only the

strongest opposition party in Slovakia, but also the only one that works, more or less, in a conceptual manner and is not plagued by evident internal tensions.

Another cause of the coalition parties' growing popularity is that STV managed to consistently emasculate its news and current affairs programs, omitting information that could make the position of the government parties problematic among the "people." Instead, it offers them, apart from the positive macroeconomic results of the Slovak economy, pictures of the caring prime minister as he inquires personally about the construction of a highway tunnel and presentations of the kindness of the government, which has decided, in conformity with the law, to raise pensions.

In this situation, the opposition parties have no choice but to appeal to citizens by other means. It is evident that they need not take too great an interest in the already distributed votes, but must focus on the one third of undecided voters. To win them over, it is not enough to criticize the government coalition, but it is necessary to also offer an alternative. Regardless of its meaningfulness, this alternative must, first and foremost, appeal to people who need to hear what kind of an ingenious nation we are and that, in the year 2010, our state will be among the most advanced in the world. Specialized problems are of interest only to those who are able to understand them, that is, to specialists.

As post-November [1989] history has shown, the best way to appeal to the Slovak voter is with short talk about long sausages.

[The results of the April poll on party preferences are also the subject of a 400-word commentary by Ondrej Dostal, entitled "Coalition Collects Points Also in Opinion Polls," in Bratislava SME in Slovak on 3 May on page 4. According to Dostal, the theory that the popularity of the opposition peaks half through the electoral term "evidently does not work in Slovakia" because, according to the latest opinion poll, the popularity of the coalition members is even higher than at the time of the last parliamentary elections. While the combined preferences for the opposition parties still exceed the combined preferences of coalition parties, Dostal says, the gap has declined from 15 percent in March to only 2 percent in April. When only the parties that gained more than 5 percent in the poll are considered, Dostal observes, the coalition parties even surpass the opposition parties (41.9 to 38.7 percent). Summing up, Dostal says that "Vladimir Meciar does not need a change in the electoral system. He is able to cope with the opposition rather easily, even with the present system in place."]

Hungary: Defense Minister Views Presence of IFOR Troops

AU0605133196 Vienna KURIER in German
6 May 96 p 4

[Article by Georg Berenyi in Budapest: "Ecological Shooting Practice"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A new color has appeared in Budapest's streets: the color of field uniforms—those of U.S. troops on leave from their southern Hungarian IFOR [Implementation Force] base at Taszar. The Americans stroll happily along the streets of the capital.

Looking at NATO's face from the immediate vicinity, one gets a positive impression, Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti indicates in an interview with KURIER: "Our close contacts in Brussels, Budapest, and Taszar (200 Hungarian officers are looking after the Americans, 'mixed' patrols guard the base) have given us an idea of the organizational and technical aspects of NATO. These range from impressively quick troop movements to environmentally friendly shooting exercises."

Despite a couple of local disappointments—the business local companies were expecting has not emerged because the Americans brought their own supplies—the balance sheet is quite positive: "After all, they have revived our economy, and the imported military culture gives us a kind of assistance for the future."

In other words, the modern facilities have made the old airfield in Taszar "fit for NATO." Keleti hopes these facilities will remain in Hungary after the IFOR mission ends—as an "advance" for the time of "even more intensive contacts with NATO," in other words, Hungary's full membership. This membership could also involve the deployment of NATO troops and nuclear arms. The ultimate decision on NATO membership must be made by the Hungarian people.

Hungary: Officers Worried About NATO Authority Over Air Base

LD0505123296 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 5 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Taszar [settlement where U.S. Implementation Force troops are based] officials of the Soldiers' Trade Union are dissatisfied with the law on conditions of service that was passed earlier this week. Taszar officers and deputy officers complain that the law on conditions of service excludes them from public life, and they cannot even take on deputy posts in their local government. They feel the government keeps delaying the deadline for introduction of the new army wage table and pay raise.

Members of the Soldiers' Trade Union and their families are also concerned about the future of the Taszar airport and are worried that if the air base is put under NATO authority, Hungarian pilots and engineers will be unemployed.

Hungary: Opinion Poll on EU, NATO Integration

AU0705100896 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET
in Hungarian 6 May 96 pp 1, 4

[Unattributed report: "Szonda Ipsos Survey—Should We Join Europe?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Szonda Ipsos Opinion Poll Research Institute conducted an opinion poll in April 1996 to determine how important the Hungarian population considers Hungarian membership in the EU and NATO and the people's views regarding the timing for joining these organizations.

Hungarian society believes it is important for Hungary to join the EU. Almost half of those polled clearly supported integration; on a scale of five grades [reference to one to five grading used in Hungarian schools], 27 percent of the people gave "grade five" for integration, so they consider it very important for us to become EU members; 21 percent of the people expressed their support for integration by giving "grade four." Only 18 percent of the people think European integration is not so important; 7 percent of the people gave "grade two," and 11 percent of the people gave "grade one."

One-third of those polled did not give such a firm answer. Most of them have an ambiguous position on whether EU membership is important or not; a smaller proportion of people have no opinion on the matter.

The average importance indicator of 3.5 (one meaning no one regarded integration as important, and five meaning everyone regarded it as important) shows that Hungarian society thinks EU membership would be an important and essential event. Opinions differ according to level of education and age: The more educated a person, the more importance he attributes to the integration process; and the older a person is, the less importance he attributes to this. At the same time, we received an indicator of 3.2 even among the groups that showed the least support for integration, people with basic education at most and older people, so they too prefer integration instead of staying out. Regarding the expected time of Hungary's EU membership, most people—59 percent—put the timing for the period up to the year 2000. Some 13 percent of the people in the survey think it will happen in the five years following the turn of the century, and 5 percent think it will happen even later.

The Hungarian population attributes somewhat less importance to Hungarian membership in NATO and expects it to happen slightly later than EU membership. Some 38 percent of the people in the survey had a positive opinion regarding the concept of Hungary's NATO membership, while 27 percent had a negative opinion. One-quarter of the people were indifferent regarding Hungary's NATO membership, and one-tenth of the people had no opinion. The importance indicator obtained from these data is smaller in the case of NATO membership than in the case of EU membership: 2.1. Regarding the importance of NATO membership, there are no marked differences among the population according to level of education, and the groups of people of various levels of education have an essentially similar opinions. However, age makes a difference here as well: Young people and older people attributed more than average importance to Hungary's NATO membership, but middle-aged people do not attribute such importance. Most people—53 percent—expect NATO membership to take place by the turn of the century, and one-tenth of the people think it will only take place in the first five years after the turn of the century.

In the schedule of approaching Europe, if we take the opinions as a whole, EU membership seems to be the first station. Some 54 percent of the people find both EU and NATO membership equally important, but there are many more people (34 percent) who think EU membership is more essential than NATO membership (12 percent).

Hungary: 'Multitude' of Committees Handling EU Integration Issues

*AU0605163996 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 4 May 96 p 3*

[Article by Balazs Pocs: "Integration Tower of Babel—A Multitude of Organizations Control Hungarian-EU Relations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Relations between Hungary and the European Union are characterized by superabun-

dance: Today, a multitude of committees and working groups are dealing with our integration. After the structural changes of the past few weeks, a final system seems to have been formed, which we will describe here.

The Integration Cabinet headed by Gyula Horn, which is meant to make the most important decisions on EU issues, is at the top of the pyramid. Five ministries—Interior, Justice, Industry, Foreign Affairs, and Finance—participate in its work. The Cabinet's work is assisted by the Integration Strategic Working Group, which operates as an independent expert group and is led by Andras Inotai, director of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences World Economic Research Institute.

The integration interministry committee, headed by Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs, tries to coordinate the EU policy of the various ministries. The Foreign Ministry's Integration State Secretariat, led by State Secretary Ferenc Somogyi, also has a coordinating role. His deputies are Istvan Pataki and Peter Gottfried, who formerly ran the Office of European Affairs in the Industry Ministry. The latter was closed when the state secretariat was established, but the Foreign Ministry kept its European integration main department, led by Ivan Udvardi.

One of the tasks of the integration state secretariat is to organize the completion of the Brussels questionnaire. The parliamentary European Integration Committee, chaired by Viktor Orban, also wishes to provide some answers. Working groups have been formed in the ministries to complete the questionnaire and will present their material in a month. The Agricultural Ministry, which was left out—according to many, mistakenly—of the integration cabinet, has not forgotten about European affairs, either: The ministry recently set up some 16 specialized integration groups.

**B-H: IFOR Criticized for 'Incidents' During
Bairam**

AU0605203596 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE
(European edition) in Serbo-Croatian 3 May 96 p 2

[Commentary by Mirsad Pehilj: "Bosnia Is Bleeding
Again"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "What do you want? Why, Alija (Izetbegovic) is inviting us to come back and Karadzic does not want you." This reasoning by a Serb woman, who recently returned to visit her house in a reintegrated part of Sarajevo, after a Bosniak woman had told her that the Bosniaks and Croats were not accorded the same right in the Serb entity, is actually an answer to everything that was happening during the Bairam holiday.

And those events are more than incidents, as representatives of the international community usually call them, because, even now, after Dayton and the peace process, Bosnia is bleeding again. Bosniaks are being killed and wounded again, because they want to visit their homes and their family graves in Trnovo, the village of Sjenina Rijeka near Gracanica, Doboj.... During all this, the Implementation Force (IFOR) was passively observing what was happening, even when Serb extremists, following the orders of the Pale leadership, were using firearms and hand grenades, according to eyewitness accounts.

Unfortunately, nothing came of IFOR officials' promises that they had reserve plans and would intervene if it proved necessary in order to prevent conflicts, which again confirms the fact that the Pale gang and the Serb Republic do not recognize the Dayton accord. It will remain so as long as Karadzic, Mladic, and those who are like-minded remain on the throne, in which they are also encouraged by some statements issued by IFOR or UN officials, who are constantly repeating that arresting war criminals (unless they happen to come across them!) is not part of their NATO mandate. Likewise, they are being encouraged by some IFOR officials' statements that blame all sides equally for incidents and obstruction of the freedom of movement, denouncing even the Sarajevo authorities for having contributed to the rise of tensions by organizing visits to the Serb Republic.

It is clear, though, that there is not any positive progress in the attempts of returning refugees to their homes, which indicates a danger that Bosnia-Herzegovina might remain a divided country. Is this not illustrated by the recent statement of Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the so-called Pale parliament, who justified the latest violations of the refugees' right to visit their homes by

saying that "the integrity of state borders must not be violated"? This time, the guardians of those borders, obviously following Pale's orders, were "civilians who gathered spontaneously" and who, with hoes and other tools, but also with weapons, watchfully observed that no unwanted guests, that is, natives, enter the Serb Republic.

**B-H: Izetbegovic, Kornblum Hold 'Very
Substantive' Talks**

AU0605145196 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, held talks in Sarajevo today with John Kornblum, assistant U.S. secretary of state, who is also performing the job of the coordinator for the implementation of the Dayton agreement.

In addition to Kornblum, the U.S. side also included John Menzies, U.S. ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation, apart from President Izetbegovic, also included Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation; Ejup Ganic, vice president of the Federation and member of the state presidency; Hasan Muratovic, prime minister of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina; and Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic. After the talks, President Alija Izetbegovic and John Kornblum, U.S. assistant secretary of state and peace mediator, addressed the correspondents. It was Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency, who addressed the correspondents about the content of the talks:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] We have just ended the talks with Mr. Kornblum and a fairly large U.S. delegation. We have discussed two groups of issues, outstanding issues. One group (?refers) to the Federation. The other group of issues referred [words indistinct] that is, the implementation of the Dayton agreements.

Within the first group of issues, the Law on Defense dominated the talks. As you know, the Law on Defense has not been prepared in full. There are two contentious paragraphs. We spoke about the ways to overcome this problem, how to solve it finally, how to finally arrive at the text that could be presented to the parliament.

In this context, we also spoke about the Federation, (?the setting up) of the Sarajevo canton, and the elections in Mostar. We said that the problem of participation of (?our) refugees in the elections has not been solved. As you know, the issue [words indistinct] has not been solved yet.

Regarding the Federation, we stressed the problem of human rights in the part of the Federation that is under HVO [Croatian Defense Council] control.

Regarding the second group of issues that refer to the Dayton agreements, we stressed that we are not satisfied with the freedom of movement, and in connection with this, the issue of refugees' return to their homes. We stressed that the continual presence of Karadzic and Mladic on the political scene in the Serb part forms the basis of this problem. There is no solution without the removal of (?this problem). The essence, the essential issue is the freedom of movement and Mr. Kornblum. I think that [words indistinct] say something. He dealt with this issue this morning with a number of agencies, people who are working on this issue.

The talks were open and very substantive. [end recording]

We hope to receive the recording of the statement by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State John Kornblum during our program.

B-H: Izetbegovic, Kornblum Brief Press on Results of Talks

AU0605190496 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 May 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The high-level delegations of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the United States, led by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the state presidency, and John Kornblum, U.S. assistant secretary of state respectively, held talks in Sarajevo today. In addition to the president of the state, our delegation also included Kresimir Zubak and Ejup Ganic, president and vice president of the Federation respectively, Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic, and Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic.

The U.S. delegation, in addition to John Kornblum, included Robert Owen, arbiter for the Federation; David Lipton, deputy assistant Treasury secretary; General Wesley Clark, member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; and others. After the talks, Messrs. Izetbegovic and Kornblum briefed the press. [passage omitted]

Kornblum stressed that he had held numerous meetings with the representatives of the agencies in charge of the realization of the freedom of movement and that they had reached a number of useful conclusions.

First, in the implementation of the freedom of movement, a step-by-step system has been agreed on. This system is based on the provisions of the Dayton agreement. This system ensures the right to freedom of movement and at the same time ensures the safety of those who want to visit their homes and settle in again. Ko-

rnblum said. I think that the process will be successful as long as it lasts. However, we agreed that (?action) teams should be set up. They will [words indistinct] on the efforts of the agencies, individuals, and groups. These (?teams) will identify the places where the problems arise and will set up several pilot programs to make sure that the process is moving along successfully, Kornblum stressed.

In reply to the question whether the international community will introduce sanctions against the Serb entity if its leadership continues to deny refugees the right to return to their homes, Kornblum said: We have already limited our help to the Serb Republic because they have not complied fully with their obligations from the Dayton agreement and because they are hiding war criminals Karadzic and Mladic. We hold a very firm view that everyone must observe the peace agreement fully, including President Milosevic. Be assured that if things do not move in that direction, other steps will be considered.

On the basis of the UN resolutions, we have a right to reintroduce sanctions. This option always remains open, Kornblum said. Nevertheless, he said that the U.S. view is that an attempt should be made to solve the problems through negotiations, and that this will be discussed during the meetings in Zagreb and Belgrade.

In reply to the question whether the obstruction of the freedom of movement by the Serb authorities will affect the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kornblum said: We will take a very sharp course so that such behavior does not continue. The international community has many ways to ensure that they can hear us, Kornblum said.

Answering a question on whether he was aware of the newspaper reports according to which war criminal Radovan Karadzic had allegedly traveled in a vehicle with HVO [Croat Defense Council] number plates to Croatia and that he had met President Tudjman, President Izetbegovic said: If this were true, this is a very bad piece of news and a very bad sign for Bosnia-Herzegovina. I can only say that the presence of Karadzic and Mladic in the political scene of Serbia [as heard], especially if they are allowed to move freely, can absolutely bring the Dayton peace agreement to a halt.

John Kornblum also said that he was not aware of these reports.

B-H: Izetbegovic Notes Importance of Visit to Gorazde

LD0505193796 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 5 May 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A Bosnia-Herzegovina state delegation, headed by President of the Presidency Alija Izetbegovic, today ended its two-day visit to Gorazde and Ustikolina. We have a report from Dzevad Dziho.

[Begin recording] [Dziho] For the first time in four years, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has visited the heroic town of Gorazde. What are his impressions?

[Izetbegovic] For me, personally, the very fact that I could visit Gorazde will leave the strongest impression. For the first time we passed through a territory under our control. I would rather not say our territory since all the territory is ours, but this part of the territory is under our control. So far, we have had to travel with the permission of the Implementation Force [IFOR], on board their helicopter with their permission, or through a territory controlled by rebel Serbs.

In other words, we travelled along a new road, built by the army in a short period of time. The road is not particularly good, you can see it for yourselves, but it will be repaired. Still, the opening of the road practically means that the blockade of Gorazde has been definitely lifted.

Another important fact: This road passes through the historically important villages of Delijas and Grebak, which our people associate with some grave and moving events concerning our efforts to supply food and ammunition to Gorazde. For me, those were very moving images of the sufferings and at the same time the resistance of our people. And Delijas was the scene of the famous battles. So, this road links all these locations, which perhaps one day will become places of pilgrimage for our future generations.

As for Gorazde itself, the biggest impression was left on me by, well, I had been prepared by the press for—as a headline had said—a town that is dying. Well, my impression is quite the opposite. I found a town where life is beginning to stir again. As you could see, lights were on—admittedly partially—there is electricity, street lighting, lights are on in a large number of houses. When we sent the electricity generator in, we insisted that the first to be given electricity were the families of martyrs and invalids and the elderly. I think that this was done and, as you could see, even the streets are lit.

Another thing: Until recently you could not buy anything in Gorazde, but now the shops are open. I person-

ally did not have an opportunity to buy anything, but I was told that prices are lower than even in Sarajevo. This is probably because demand in Gorazde is not that strong, but coffee shops are open, young people can be seen in the street, and this left the strongest impression on me. There are a large number of children in the Gorazde, a large number of smiling faces.

This is, broadly speaking, my impression of Gorazde, a town where not only the native people of Gorazde live but also a large number of people from Foca, Cajnice, Rogatica, and Visegrad—of course you have the famous Visegrad brigade there—and I think that life is returning to Gorazde. We have tried to make a contribution, and Mr. Muratovic will have more to say about that. But another of my impressions is the large amount of destruction along the route to Gorazde.

[Dziho] What specific agreements were reached in Gorazde and Ustikolina? Let us hear Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic.

[Muratovic] In Gorazde we agreed to intervene to meet the most pressing needs, above all the reconstruction of homes. For this we shall give the canton 2 million [currency not specified]. We shall provide initial funds for waterworks and for the water supply system to run from the water plant in Vitkovici. The president has donated a truckload of sheet glass. We shall also make a small contribution toward reviving the economy.

Here in Ustikolina we will first help with the reconstruction of the school, and some urgent funds for road reconstruction. The president of the Croat-Muslim Federal Government will see what can be done about the bridge from here [word indistinct] and for the police station for the entire municipality.

Of course, we will give priority to reviving industry and we will also do our utmost to revive the fertilizer plant, which will be capable of employing a large number of people and producing goods that are in demand, and which have retained their prewar markets. We will remain in contact with the cantonal and municipal authorities and we will try to help them according to their needs. The government will set up an office for the economic revival of the canton, providing the authorities come up with programs for both private business and the reconstruction of existing capacities. We will try to find funds, credits, and donations. [passage omitted] [end recording]

B-H: Prlic, Russia's Ivanov Address Journalists on Talks

AU0605153996 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Igor Sergeyevich Ivanov, first deputy foreign minister of the Russian Federation, has arrived in our country. After numerous meetings with Bosnia-Herzegovina officials, Ivanov and our Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic made brief statements to the press. Here is a report by [name indistinct]:

[Reporter] The journalists were first addressed by Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic:

[Begin Prlic recording] During his visit to Sarajevo, during our personal contacts, we exchanged views on the current stage in the implementation of the Dayton agreement in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and stressed the special importance of a unified stand by the relevant factors of the international community regarding the implementation of the Dayton and Paris agreements.

In this context, the (?meetings) of the Contact Group and other international institutions are important, as they guarantee that the overall process will be implemented in the way it was planned.

We also concluded that it was important to hold elections by the envisaged deadlines. This will facilitate the implementation of the overall package of agreements. This is also opening up important possibilities for the development of (?bilateral) relations between Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Russian Federation in the period ahead of us. I am primarily referring to (?raising) our relations to the ambassadorial level and creating opportunities for wider economic cooperation.

Mr. Ivanov stressed in particular the interest of the Russian Federation in establishing a balanced and equal approach to all the states that have been created on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. [end recording]

[Reporter] The journalists were then addressed by Igor Sergeyevich Ivanov:

[Begin Ivanov recording, in Russian fading into Serbo-Croatian translation] Russia intends to continue to play an important role in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I was ordered by President Yeltsin to convey his message to Mr. Izetbegovic. The message stresses Russia's (?firm) intention to participate in the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the readiness of the Russian Federation to cooperate with your country. All these issues were discussed in detail with Mr. Prlic, and we intend to continue (?our discussions). [end recording]

[Reporter] From the journalists questions posed to Messrs. Ivanov and Prlic, we learned that Bosnia-

Herzegovina has its consular offices in Moscow, as does the Russian Federation in Sarajevo. However, these are not yet at the level of embassies.

Regarding the alleged Russian award to the criminal Karadzic, Mr. Ivanov said that this award did not exist in his country.

B-H: Ganic, Russian Minister Note Progress of Peace Process

AU0605183996 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Ejup Ganic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina and vice president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today received Igor Sergeyevich Ivanov, first deputy foreign minister of the Russian Federation.

Ivanov handed Ganic a letter for President Izetbegovic, which was similar to that sent by Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

They discussed the course of the peace process hitherto, placing special emphasis on the model and election rules in the preparations and organization of the forthcoming elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

They expressed full support for an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina and warned in that context that the elections should not facilitate the verification of the results of ethnic cleansing. They also concluded that the peace process is making slow progress despite many difficulties, that it must move forward, and that there is no alternative to it.

They also stressed the need for more frequent contacts and exchanges of views, and for improving bilateral political, economic, cultural, and other (?relations).

B-H: OSCE Officials Discuss Elections With Mostar Parties

AU0605193996 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 May 96

[Report by Halild Sehic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Flavio Cotti, chairman of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], and Robert Frowick, chairman of the Provisional Election Commission and head of the OSCE for Bosnia-Herzegovina, today visited Mostar where they held talks with the representatives of the parties registered in that town. Halid Sehic reports:

[Sehic] Today, the representatives of the political parties registered in Mostar met for the first time [words indistinct] Flavio Cotti, foreign minister of Switzerland

and chairman of the [words indistinct]. The meeting was also attended by Robert Frowick, chairman of the Provisional Election Commission and head of the OSCE for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The meeting was opened by General (?Odenau), director of the OSCE regional center. Following this, Flavio Cotti expressed the wish to ask the representatives of the political parties whether the elections will be held by the envisaged deadline and whether all parties can freely present themselves to the public.

The representatives of the political parties from western Mostar expressed the view that the elections should be held by the envisaged deadline, while the parties from eastern Mostar expressed a series of objections. They stressed, among other things, that freedom of movement has not been secured and that without that there can be no free political activity. [Words indistinct] must be enabled to vote abroad as the Bosniaks did not voluntarily go to other countries, but were expelled.

After the meeting, Flavio Cotti also held talks with Mostar Administrator Casado. [passage omitted]

B-H: Talks Held on Issue of Mostar Elections

LD0605185496 Mostar Radio-Televizija Mostar Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 6 May 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] U.S. Ambassador Robert Frowick, head of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] mission in charge of the Bosnia-Herzegovina elections, and Flavio Cotti, OSCE chairman and foreign minister of Switzerland, met at the European Union headquarters in Mostar today the leaders of parties which are to take part in the elections.

After the meeting, Mr. Cotti gave a few short replies to several journalists' questions. Mr. Cotti said that he came to Mostar today solely to inform himself. He said that he and Ambassador Frowick came to inform themselves and that this is by no means their last visit to Mostar.

Answering a question on the subject of his talks with [Mostar] Administrator Perez Casado, Cotti said that they talked about possibilities for organizing free elections in Mostar, of which the EU will be in charge.

After the meeting Alija Behram spoke to Safet Orucevic, mayor of [Muslim-held] Mostar.

[Begin recording] [Behram] Mr. Orucevic, at the European headquarters today you held talks with representatives of several parties, with Mr. Flavio Cotti, the Swiss foreign minister and OSCE chairman. You discussed the elections, especially the elections in Mostar scheduled

for 31 May. What happened, what was agreed, and what are your positions?

[Orucevic] Mr. Brajkovic [mayor of Croat-held western Mostar] and I first had a meeting with Mr. Cotti and we informed him of our positions. I think that they are already widely known. These are that our side is insisting that all citizens of Mostar throughout the world should vote. If this condition is not met, our side will not take part in the elections. I think that is the position held by all the opposition parties. I speak on behalf of Mostar municipality, which is made up of several parties.

Thus, the citizens of Mostar will not take part in the elections if all the Mostar citizens throughout the world are not granted the right to vote. I think that the international community knows that and that it will adopt certain decisions with this in mind.

As far as the deadlines are concerned, they are too early because conditions for holding elections do not exist. I believe they have understood this as well—that neither conditions nor political freedoms exist to honor these deadlines [sentence as heard]. But if we do have to hold the elections and the EU goes on insisting that this must happen within a certain period, maybe next month, then we will prepare ourselves, we are already making preparations because we cannot lose this battle if we do get the chance [as heard]. Because we do not wish to be the ones who get the blame for the departure of the EU from Mostar; or the blame for the interruption of the democratic process in Mostar.

In other words, we are looking for a compromise. [end recording] [passage omitted]

B-H: Opposition Parties Poised To Boycott Mostar Elections

LD0505185896 Tuzla Radio Tuzla in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The deadline for holding elections in Mostar is approaching inexorably, but we believe that under the existing conditions the elections will be a sheer farce and an abuse of the fundamental principles of democracy.

It is a well-known fact that the existing authorities in both sides of Mostar were set up in a completely illegal way and ignoring the results of the 1990 elections. The electorate has not been defined, the voters' lists have not been drawn up, it is impossible to check them openly, and the entire electoral procedure is completely unclear. Most importantly, there are insurmountable obstacles to free political activity and the very political existence of most political parties that might run in the elections in Mostar. The freedom of movement is still restricted and

the security of citizens is under threat. The manipulation of the voters abroad has already started. Statements by senior officials in Mostar reveal not only confusion, but also real fears of again creating two separate authorities. A special problem is the nonexistence of equal conditions for media presentation of political parties.

Considering all this, we are demanding from the international community and all relevant factors and organizations that are obliged under the Dayton Bosnian agreement to create democratic preconditions for free and democratic elections in Mostar to resolve the aforementioned irregularities as soon as possible. Failing this, the elections will be completely irregular, and will also bring into question the point of holding elections at the state level of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We consider the EU administration and the authorities of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation to be responsible for all this.

If this serious violation of all agreements is not halted as a matter of urgency, the undersigned parties will boycott the Mostar election, which will under the existing conditions amount to a huge deception and manipulation not only of Mostar, but of all the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The statement is signed by the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Union of Bosnian Social Democrats, the Republican Party, the Muslim-Bosniak Organization, and the Croatian Peasants' Party.

B-H: Bosnian Croats Insist on 31 May Elections in Mostar

LD0605104796 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 6 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] OSCE chairman Flavio Cotti and Robert Frowick, chairman of the interim electoral commission for Bosnia-Herzegovina, have visited Mostar to discuss the elections scheduled to be held on 31 May. After the talks, Mayor Brajkovic said that the Bosniak side believes that the elections should not be held until all the residents of Mostar currently not living in the town have returned, whereas the Croat stance is that the elections must be held on 31 May, as agreed.

B-H: Intellectuals Say Election Rules 'Legally Unacceptable'

AU0605153096 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the adoption of the electoral rules that were drafted by the Provisional Election Commission, the Council of the Congress of Bosniak Intellectuals considers that these rules call into

question the territorial integrity and state sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

By the application of certain provisions and rules, the structure of the electorate would be considerably disturbed, that is, the ethnic organization of municipalities in Bosnia-Herzegovina reflected by the 1991 census. These provisions are in conflict with the law in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as with the already adopted international standards on the compilation of election rolls and the general election right, which says that voting is to be done by citizens in their places of residence at the time of the 1991 census. Exceptions can only be a consequence of normal migrations of citizens, and not an acknowledgment of the results of ethnic cleansing and the so-called human [word indistinct]. If these legally unacceptable regulations were to go through and be applied in elections, no one would be able to prevent Bosnia-Herzegovina's future dissolution.

B-H: Radio Views Election Preparations in Tuzla Canton

AU0605170496 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 May 96

[Report by Enes Osmancevic—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the following part of our newscast today, we will be talking about the mood of the Bosnia-Herzegovina public and the preparations for the upcoming elections in Tuzla-Podrinje Canton. As in other parts of our country, there are many uncertainties regarding the upcoming elections, which are considerably slowing the necessary preparations. Enes Osmancevic reports from Tuzla.

[Osmancevic] A number of ambiguities remain, even after the announcement of the election rules by the Provisional Election Commission, and the growing dissatisfaction in part of the public and among representatives of political parties in Tuzla-Podrinje Canton has been the major reason for a certain delay in the creation of the technical preconditions for conducting the election campaign and the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Some uncertainties have not been resolved, even after the recent visit to Tuzla of Ambassador Robert Frowick, chief of mission of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE]. Representatives of political parties have voiced their dissatisfaction with the election rules and demanded answers to the ambiguities that have remained, even after the adoption of the rules. Obviously, the question of the forthcoming elections in our country will continue to be a matter of dispute, while the representatives of an opposition party have already announced the possibility of their boycotting the elections, because, as they said, the proposed rules analyze [as

heard] the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Given such a mood among the representatives of political parties and part of the public, it was not possible to expect that the preparations for the elections would develop smoothly, and, even though the OSCE has expressed support for the entities in their efforts to constitute local election commissions, this job here has not yet been completed. The election rolls are also awaited impatiently, as we have learned from the OSCE offices in Sarajevo and Tuzla. The election rolls have already been drawn up and are in the process of being printing, which means their distribution will begin soon. Apart from posters, brief instructions, and radio jingles by which some of the election rules and the invitation to participate in the elections will be promoted, all of which is being organized by the OSCE, little is being done in terms of the education of the electorate. However, this poses no problem for the representatives of political parties in pressing their election campaigns through the local media in Tuzla-Podrinje Canton, which they began to do almost on the day on which it was confirmed that the elections will indeed take place. It is not so strange, therefore, that the representatives of one party often intrude upon the penal space [as heard] of the other party. The public in Tuzla has been speculating for a long time about whether the long-awaited reopening of the waterworks, which should bring an end to water shortages, will be used for political purposes. For the time being, however, this is only an assumption, but it is evident that the real election campaign has not begun yet, although all the potential competitors are warming up, each in his own way.

B-H: Ballots With Names of 'Criminals' Will Be 'Invalid'

AU0605124096 *Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian*
5 May 96 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Vote for Criminals Annuls the Ballot"]

[FBIS Translated Text] UN High Representative Carl Bildt said in Milocer that persons indicted by the International Tribunal in The Hague will not be able to appear on the ballots in the forthcoming elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"If names of the indicted people, wherever they may be in Bosnia-Herzegovina, appear on the ballots, these papers will be proclaimed invalid," Bildt said at a news conference he held after his one-day working visit in Montenegro.

The high UN representative said that the votes of Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens not currently living on the territory of their electoral unit "will be counted, whether

they vote in person or by post, because the elections are very important for resuming confidence in Bosnia."

He added that one must immediately react to any violation of regulations envisaged by the peace agreement for Bosnia. He gave the example of "the killing in Doboj for which the authorities of the Serb Republic are to blame" and concluded that "this must be punished."

Bildt said that the attempt by political parties from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to form parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina is a "phenomenon not unknown in the world" and said that it cannot be prevented. "What is important is whether these parties enjoy voter support," Bildt concluded.

B-H: Bildt Opens Banja Luka Office, Meets Kasagic

AU0605144396 *Belgrade Radio Beograd Network*
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 May 96

[Report by Branislav Bozic from Banja Luka]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today I am opening my office for the Serb Republic [RS] here in Banja Luka, Carl Bildt said after meeting with RS Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic. In this way, he announced that he would be frequently traveling the Sarajevo-Banja Luka route. Bildt told journalists that a series of political moves have to be made in order to speed up the restoration of trust between the entities and people.

Both he and Kasagic confirmed that political relations cannot thaw without economic revival. But, Bildt said, we need funds for that. Although he avoided making concrete statements about the speed with which the promised funds would be forthcoming, he nevertheless expressed optimism regarding the issue. In Banja Luka today, he again insisted on freedom of movement, but for individual visits and refugee return in both entities, as the mass visits have up to this point almost regularly ended in incidents, and represent politically spectacular events rather than the people's realistic needs.

Neither Prime Minister Kasagic nor Bildt said when the bus lines between the RS and the Muslim-Croat Federation would be established but that they did confirm that this had been one of the topics discussed during today's talks.

Swiss Foreign Minister and OSCE President Flavio Cotti is also due in Banja Luka today, where he will meet with Prime Minister Kasagic. Following this, he will discuss the forthcoming elections with representatives of all political parties. UN Human Rights Commission Chairwoman Elizabeth Rehn is also expected in Banja Luka today.

B-H: Bildt on Kasagic Meeting, Elections, Freedom of Movement

AU0605184696 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 May 96

[Interview with Carl Bildt, high commissioner for the implementation of the civilian part of the Dayton agreement, by Radovan Brankov on 6 May; place not given; Bildt speaks in English with superimposed translation into Serbo-Croatian—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Brankov] Are you satisfied with the talks you held with Prime Minister Kasagic today?

[Bildt] Yes, I am satisfied. We also met extensively last night and we shall have many more contacts in the coming week. I believe that the prime minister has a constructive attitude, and, despite the fact that we do not agree on everything, I believe that he is the right man in the right place.

[Brankov] Mr. Bildt, will the elections be held as planned?

[Bildt] Yes, they must be held as planned, but there are other things on which the elections depend. One of these things is freedom of the media. I think that is essential for any elections to be fair. It is extremely important for the state media to allow political parties [words indistinct], but the parties should also have the possibility to present their political views and their solutions to problems in the independent media.

[Brankov] Mr. Bildt, the corridor and Brcko have lately been the topic of discussion in the Serb Republic [RS]. What do you have to say to all this?

[Bildt] This is an issue that was not settled in Dayton. Brcko should be solved through arbitration in the course of the year. I have talked to representatives of the Muslim-Croat federation and the RS and asked them to appoint arbiters. I hope that this will happen soon.

[Brankov] How would you comment on the many Muslim crossings into RS territory?

[Bildt] Well, there are also many Serbs who wish to go back to their areas, to Drvar, Glamoc, Doboj. I believe that now, after the war, full freedom of movement should be established. We have to do as much as possible to facilitate the process.

B-H: Bildt, Banja Luka Mayor Discuss Aid, Refugee Issues

LD0605154696 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1248 GMT 6 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 6 May (SRNA)—Carl Bildt, high representative of the international

community, had talks today with Predrag Radic, mayor of Banja Luka, on the economic and political aspects of the development of the Banja Luka region and prospects for the return of refugees.

After the meeting, which lasted an hour, Bildt denied claims by Western political circles that the Croat-Muslim federation has already been given \$400 million for reconstruction and development.

"The figure is not completely correct," he said, and added that the international community "will make efforts to see that the [Bosnian] Serb Republic receives more aid than it has so far."

Bildt indirectly admitted that any help for the Serb Republic is conditional on the political interests of some international centers of power. He added that "the amount of funds will depend directly on the Serb Republic itself."

Mayor Predrag Radic said that in Banja Luka "there are more refugees than those who have left the city" and that the return of Muslim refugees can be discussed only "when the expelled Serbs are able to return to the Croat-Muslim federation, Serb Krajina, and Croatia."

"I asked Mr. Bildt for Banja Luka airport to be opened to civilian traffic as soon as possible, and for the recently opened bridge in Gradiska on the Sava and the Zagreb-Belgrade motorway to also be used for civilian traffic," Radic said.

The international representative for civilian aspects [of the Dayton agreement] was received by Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic in Banja Luka this morning. A news conference by Carl Bildt is scheduled to take place at 1700 in the Hotel Bosna in Banja Luka.

B-H: First Contract on EU Aid for Serb Republic Signed

LD0705102796 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0906 GMT 7 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 7 May (SRNA)—Serb Republic Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic and EU special envoy Donato Chiarini today signed the first contract [between the EU and the Serb Republic] under the terms of which the EU extends to the Serb Republic financial aid worth \$2 million. Of this sum, \$1 million is earmarked for the revival of agriculture, while the other million is for the renewal of the cattle stock.

"This project will boost the activity of two large farms where 45,000 chickens will be raised," Chiarini said, and added that some part of the money will be used for the modernization of special farm equipment for artificial insemination.

The special envoy explained that this first EU aid will be distributed throughout the Serb Republic and that similar projects will follow once priorities in this area have been identified.

B-H: Commentary Considers Possible Dissolution of FRY

AU0305182796 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In the legal proceedings that are under way at the International Court of Justice, Bosnia-Herzegovina is suing Serbia and Montenegro, demanding \$50 billion as reparations for the aggression that they committed. At the same time, there is a public dilemma over whether the Montenegrins are dissatisfied with their federal partner and whether they might be aspiring to independence. Our colleague Dzevad (?Kurspasic) comments on what is behind all that, particularly after Djukanovic's [Montenegrin prime minister] visit to Washington, and Bulatovic's [Montenegrin president] visit to London.

[(?Kurspasic)] There is no doubt that in Milosevic's campaign to seize power and the people's demonstrations [Serb nationalist rallies in the late 1980's], along with [word indistinct], the Serbs' greatest assistance was extended to him by like-minded people in Montenegro, who renounced their Montenegrin nationality to support the efforts to attain the eternal dream of a greater Serbia. In all this, along with a number of middle-aged rabble-rousers at various rallies in Novi Sad, Pristina, and Podgorica in particular, who eventually set the Yugoslav political scene alight, one should single out two assistants at the Faculty of Economy at that time, namely, Momir Bulatovic and Milo Djukanovic. And when, after the events in Kosovo and a number of strikes at Radoje Dakic and other Montenegrin companies, a people's demonstration violently erupted in Montenegro as well, these two loyal subjects of Milosevic's became the leading personalities of Montenegro: Bulatovic became president and Djukanovic prime minister. Let us recall, in the early attacks by Montenegrin and Serbian Chetnik hordes on Herzegovina and eastern Bosnia, it was volunteers from Niksic, Kolasin and Bijelo Polje who spearheaded the attacks. As time went by, Montenegro's awakening from this bad dream became increasingly difficult. When poet Jevrem Brkovic and liberal politician Slavko Perovic directly apologized to the Bosniaks for all the evil and shameful things that their fellow citizens had done to them, Bulatovic and Djukanovic began to fear that in some future elections they might lose power if they did not dissociate themselves from the war, Milosevic, and mother Serbia, and if, at least for the sake of the economy, they did not look for a sep-

arate way to Europe and prosperity. This was because the strategic position of Montenegro, including its access to the Adriatic, the jagged coastline of Boka Kotorska, and its many mountains which are major attractions for tourism in this small, once independent country very rich in tradition, encouraged the thought of separating from the so-called FRY, even more so as the federal state has recently transferred Montenegrin airports under Yugoslav Air Transport's control and ownership. Moreover, since of the entire debt of the former SFRY, Montenegro has to pay \$340,000, unlike Serbia, which owes almost \$7 billion, Montenegro sees its big sister as a big burden for the future. Prime Minister Djukanovic's recent visit to the United States and his endeavors to establish better business connections and find a way to purchase three aircraft for a domestic Montenegrin airline company were the first indication that something is changing, at least ostensibly. There then followed Bulatovic's visit to London, where he indicated his intention to open a business representative office in Great Britain and have a British consulate open in Podgorica. Belgrade is not pleased with these new trends from Montenegro, so the broadcasting of the Montenegrin television news on the second channel of Serbian television has already been suspended. For that reason, the opposition in Podgorica is demanding an adequate retaliation, namely the suspension of Serbian newscasts. Is this really about the rumored separation of Milosevic's two federal units, if nothing else because of a difficult economic situation and new strikes that are shaking this country, which used to be the smallest Yugoslav republic, or is it another cunning Montenegrin maneuver to obtain more dollars, while ideologically remaining in line with Milosevic, which neither Bulatovic or Djukanovic have ever strayed from?

B-H: Serbs To Consider Hague Tribunal Request To Open Office

LD0505125396 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1132 GMT 5 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 5 May (SRNA)—Rajko Kasagic, prime minister of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, held talks in Banja Luka today with Graham Blewitt, the deputy chief prosecutor at the Hague Tribunal, about the Serb Republic authorities' cooperation with this institution.

After the meeting, held behind closed doors, Kasagic said that Blewitt had asked "for permission to open the Tribunal's office in the Serb Republic."

According to Kasagic, this request "will be reviewed at a session of the Serb Republic government, which will take a concrete stance on the issue."

Expressing his satisfaction with the meeting with Prime Minister Kasagic and Justice Minister Marko Arsovic, Blewitt stressed that "the Tribunal has no objections as to the level of cooperation with the Serb Republic."

"The Tribunal has a certain number of teams which are investigating in the territory of the Serb Republic, and the investigations are being carried out with the government's full cooperation," Blewitt specified.

Asked whether he expected reactions from the Serb people in connection with issuing indictments against their representatives, Blewitt said "this will probably happen when the cases are presented in full at the Hague Tribunal, and when the whole process is set in motion."

Blewitt declined to give any details about the results achieved so far in the investigations into the alleged existence of mass graves in Srebrenica.

The Hague Tribunal's deputy chief prosecutor also declined to answer the question of whether this legal institution also has a political character.

B-H: War Crimes Suspect Tadic Begins Hunger Strike

*AU0605170296 Paris AFP in English
1651 GMT 6 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, May 6 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb Dusan "Dusko" Tadic, whose trial on warcrimes charges opens here Tuesday, said Monday he was starting a hunger strike to press for a fairer trial.

Speaking to Dutch television from his prison in the town of Scheveningen, he denied all charges against him ahead of the trial by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

Tadic said he wanted the tribunal to let two defence witnesses give their testimony by video from the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Banja Luka.

"If the tribunal accepts that request, which is our main request, I am sure of being freed," he said.

"All the charges against me are false. It is unfortunate the prosecutor has blindly retained these charges. He has not been able to verify a single piece of information about me in two years," Tadic added.

Tadic, 40, is accused of killing 13 Moslems, torturing 18 others and raping one woman. He is further accused of taking part in around 30 other murders as well as torture and rapes.

It will be the first warcrimes trial before an international court since the Nuremburg and Tokyo trials after World War II.

B-H: Tadic Prosecutor Outlines Murder, Torture, Rape Charges

*AU0705125896 Paris AFP in English
1231 GMT 7 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, May 7 (AFP)—Prosecutor Grant Niemann, of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, outlined in graphic detail Tuesday [7 May] some of the charges against alleged Bosnian Serb war criminal Dusan "Dusko" Tadic.

Niemann, of Australia, recounted to the court the historical background to the conflict in ex-Yugoslavia before launching into a detailed description of the murder, torture and persecution charges against Tadic.

He said Serb forces were assisted by locals such as Tadic in carrying out their "ethnic cleansing" campaign against non-Serbs.

"The rounding up of the non-Bosnian Serb population was a systematic and thorough operation, with the paramilitary groups relying on local information and identification of the non-Serbs by the local irregulars."

He said Tadic, 40, began colluding with Serb troops in 1992 during preparations to seize control of areas in northwest Bosnia.

"Tadic was relied on by the Serb forces during the 1992 spring offensive directed against Kozarac," his hometown, Niemann said.

"He removed his family from the area knowing what was to happen...and was willingly used as an important source of intelligence to identify local Moslems, Croats and other forces disloyal to the Serb cause."

Tadic during that period "rose from relative obscurity to a person of influence" in the area, Niemann said, adding that prior to the May 24 offensive on Kozarac, Tadic led his Moslem neighbors to believe he was on their side while all the time knowing what was to happen.

He described in harrowing testimony how on May 27, 1992, following the fall of Kozarac, Serb forces and local civilians ordered Moslems and other non-Serbs to form a column and march out of the town.

"Mothers and fathers watched in horror as their military aged sons were pulled out from the column and shot before their own very eyes," Niemann said, adding that all the victims "seemed to be known by Tadic and his accomplice that day."

"For the non-Serbs of Kozarac, their families were torn apart," he said. "Loved ones were taken away, never

seen again. Properties were destroyed and hopes and dreams were shattered.

"The reign of unimaginable terror had begun."

Niemann said that between May and December 1992 Tadic took part in the killing of more than 30 detainees and the torture of 12 women as well as the gang rape of several others.

"Prisoners at Omarska were systematically burned, beaten, or otherwise subjected to terrible degradation," he said, recalling an incident in which one inmate was ordered to emasculate fellow prisoners.

"In July 1992, behind the white house building in the Omarska camp, Tadic, in the company of other Serbs from outside the camp, severely beat" several prisoners, he said.

"The guards were wearing camouflage uniforms, they were using baseball bats and rubber sticks," he continued. "One of them was using a spanner as a weapon.

"Ten or more were doing these beatings. The man who appeared to be in charge was Tadic. Tadic didn't use any weapons, only his feet in the karate fashion." Several of these prisoners "were found dead in the same spot later that day."

On another occasion in June of the same year, Niemann alleged that "Tadic ordered a group of prisoners to drink water like animals, from the ground, then jumped on their backs and beat them until they were unable to move. The victims were then removed from the area."

"Tadic also took part in the killing and beating of other seized persons, including the killing of an old man and a woman, the beating of at least two former policemen from Kozarac and the beating of a number of Moslem males," Niemann said.

He charged that "in the period from 25 May 1992 to 31 December 1992, Tadic took part and participated in the killing of more than 30 detainees.

"He also took part in the torture of 12 female detainees, including several gang rapes which occurred in the camp."

Tadic has denied the charges against him.

B-H: Radio Commentary Criticizes Hague Tribunal's Work

LD0505151496 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] When the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague began working almost three years ago, the most senior officials—and primarily chief prosecutor Richard Goldstone—repeatedly stressed that the Tribunal would work independently

from politics and politicians. This is nothing unusual because the independence of the court is the fundamental prerequisite [words indistinct] in every legal process, if the process is based on the principles of justice and fairness. But are there indications—and what are these indications—that this international Tribunal could abandon these principles, at least in its procedure? Let us hear Mehmedalija Sisic's commentary:

[Sisic] If we take as the starting point the fact that a crime is an individual's action, and that only individuals, not whole nations or groups of nations, can be held responsible for any crime, including war crimes, it is surprising to see with what assiduity the Hague Tribunal is still persevering in being even-handed: two or three people from the ranks of all three key nations in the Bosnian conflict have found themselves behind bars. No one can be pardoned for their crimes, but why are they insisting on such evenhandedness? At the same time, they have chosen to ignore the fact that Kasim Delic and Esad Landzo have already been arrested and sentenced by the legal bodies of an internationally recognized state—Bosnia-Herzegovina. Is the Hague Tribunal also trying to demonstrate that all sides here are the same?

What is the aim of the very slow pace of carrying out arrests of people indicted for war crimes—which is an obligation stemming from the Dayton agreement—and what could the consequences of this be? Around 50 indictments issued for the Serb entity do not refer to only two suspects, but a whole set of people. Why the procrastination, then, when The Hague is responsible in particular for—as its statute specifies—more important people, responsible for organized and planned crimes. If IFOR [Implementation Force] is not responsible for their arrest, what is the job of the international police?

There are two more interesting points of a seemingly procedural nature. General Djordje Djukic could perhaps have fallen ill in The Hague and been temporarily released—which, in fact, happened—but is it possible that his detention in The Hague for more than a month really could not reveal almost anything, either right or wrong.

Now when the trial of Dusko Tadic is finally opening, one and a half years after his arrest, why has the rape charge been deleted from the indictment? Lawyers say that witnesses—especially of the rape of women—can and must be protected, but is that unfortunate woman, who should not be subjected to the reawakening of the horrendous memory, the only one on the list of people who suffered from Dusko Tadic and others like him? After all, are there any other witness methods that can establish the crime of rape?

And finally, faced with the Hague Tribunal's slow pace of work and its peculiar procedural moves, the ordinary individual in Bosnia, Bosniak, is unfortunately left only with a series of questions and unclear concepts in an issue that is more than clear and proved by a number of facts. Millions of newspaper articles also testify to crimes and genocide [words indistinct]. Cynically speaking, this is by all appearances the main problem.

Of course, the decisions of the Hague Tribunal cannot be prejudiced, but the Tribunal is expected to differentiate between justice and injustice, truth and deception, and between people and nations—regardless to which nation they belong. The Tribunal is also expected not to drag the process on forever. The fact that there are many suspects from one nation and that entire sets of people in power should be put on the balance of justice is not a problem that concerns justice, the Tribunal, or other people, especially the victims. In order to ensure the true implementation of the Dayton agreement, we should recall that the Tribunal can work only with facts, whereas law and justice are precisely for that reason not politics or [word indistinct], something that is impossible to establish or understand. Bosnia-Herzegovina is a law-governed state. People themselves cannot be judges but, especially in the interest of maintaining peace, they expect much more from The Hague.

B-H: RS Prime Minister, Elisabeth Rehn Discuss Human Rights

*LD0605171096 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian
1543 GMT 6 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 6 May (SRNA)—Rajko Kasagic, prime minister of the Serb Republic [RS], and RS Justice Minister Marko Arsovic held talks in Banja Luka today with Elisabeth Rehn, the UN secretary general's special envoy for human rights, on the aspects of the Dayton peace agreement related to human rights, freedom of movement, freedom of the media, and the upcoming elections.

After the meeting, held behind closed doors, Mrs. Rehn said that there has been a visible improvement with regard to human rights compared to when she last visited.

"I have to say that other countries will support the Serb Republic just as they do the other side in the future because it is in the interest of the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina," Mrs. Rehn told correspondents.

The RS prime minister said after the meeting that "respect for human rights is a foundation of democracy and prosperity in any society, and therefore of the RS, too," adding that "Mrs. Rehn is trying to ensure that

European and world standards in this sphere are applied in the RS."

Kasagic pointed out that Mrs. Rehn's efforts to achieve equal treatment of the RS and the Croat-Muslim federation are contributing greatly to lasting peace.

B-H: Karadzic Says Muslims Being Pushed Toward War

*LD0305151996 Lisbon RDP Antena 1 Radio Network
in Portuguese 1400 GMT 3 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The all-but-forgotten plan of Portuguese Ambassador Joao Cutileiro could well have averted three and a half years of war in Bosnia. This was stated by no less a personality than Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic in a joint interview with the Antena 1 and RTP [Portuguese state TV] correspondents. Our correspondent Ricardo Alexandre is on the line from Bosnia:

[Alexandre] [Passage omitted] In an exclusive interview of over 10 minutes with Portuguese journalists, Radovan Karadzic said that Ambassador Joao Cutileiro's plan, which was signed in Portugal, could have brought peace to Bosnia:

[Begin recording] [Karadzic, in English] All sides here accepted the concept of Lisbon. And then Muslims abandon it and we go to war. Then we have three and a half years of the war. Then we have Dayton, and Dayton is very similar to Lisbon. So, why have we fought for three and a half years? We could have avoided this war.

[Correspondent, in English] With the Cutileiro plan?

[Karadzic] With the Cutileiro plan. Because Dayton plan is very similar to the Cutileiro plan. [end recording]

[Correspondent] [Passage omitted]

[Announcer] What were the other main points of your conversation with Radovan Karadzic?

[Alexandre] After waiting over one hour, we were received by Mr. Karadzic at the Republika Srpska's presidential hall in Pale, 40 km from Sarajevo. To our first question, on what he thought of the present political situation, he replied that he believes certain parties are again pushing the Muslims toward war. Asked to specify, he openly named the Islamic countries and certain Western governments with a vested interest in a permanently unstable Bosnia.

He then went on to speak of the stability in Republika Srpska, saying that the economy is recovering with every passing day despite the difficulties it still faces with 500,000 refugees on its territory.

Asked about his views on his own future, he replied that we all live, work, and eventually die, and that he cannot but do what is best for the Serbian people.

He smiled when I mentioned the Hague Tribunal and said that everyone is innocent until proven guilty, and that nothing has been proven against him. Then he questioned the legitimacy of the authority claimed by the Hague human rights Tribunal. [passage omitted]

Still regarding the future, he said he is a religious man, and therefore a very confident one.

[Announcer] [passage omitted]

B-H: Serbs, Federation Agree To 'Jointly' Publish Magazine

AU0605160596 *Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian*
5 May 96 p 32

[Unattributed report: "A Joint Publication by Serbs and Muslims"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A project for relaunching KO-RZO, which would be the first publication jointly pub-

lished by the two entities, was agreed at a meeting of journalists from the Federation and the Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina that was organized by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Human Rights Committee.

Before the war, the magazine used to come out in the region of northeastern Bosnia and focused on events in Tuzla, Bijeljina, Brcko, Gracanica, and other municipalities in the area.

Initially, the joint publication will come out periodically and, owing to communication difficulties, it will be printed in both Tuzla and Bijeljina.

Croatia: Tudjman Says Bosnian Muslims Obstructing Elections*LD0705121796 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 7 May 96*

[Report by Zoltan Kabok from the presidential palace in Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Text] The president of the Republic, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, received an OSCE delegation in Zagreb today. The head of the OSCE mission for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Robert Frowick, informed the president about the conditions that need to be met in order for elections to comply with the Dayton Peace Agreement. The talks were attended by Dr. Ivo Sanader, head of the president's office; Dr. Zeljko Matic, the president's foreign policy adviser; and Hidajet Biscovic, assistant minister of foreign affairs. President Tudjman said the Republic of Croatia and the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina were determined to see the Washington and Dayton Peace Agreements fully implemented, especially the parts relating to the Federation and its links with the Republic of Croatia. We shall use our influence to ensure that elections in the Federation comply with the Dayton Agreement, President Tudjman said. He went on to draw attention to the obstructions the Muslim Bosniak side had been creating in preparations for the elections.

Croatia: Rijeka Prosecutor Indicts 6 Bosnians for Terrorism*LD0605201496 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 6 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] The county Public Prosecutor's Office in Rijeka has brought charges against terrorists, members of the so-called Bihac group. The six of them, arrested on 4 April near Senj, are accused of international terrorism.

[Correspondent Klaudija Modric] Dervis Demirovic, Hajrudin Halilagic, both members of the State Security Service from Bihac, Zijad Zulic, Jasmin Osmankic, and Senada Nuhanovic are all citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina and residents of Bihac.

They have been indicted for a criminal offense against humanity and international law.

Jusuf Delic Ibukic is a citizen of Croatia and a resident of Crikvenica. He has been indicted as an accessory to international terrorism.

This is what was said at today's news conference in Rijeka:

[Begin Drago Marincel, public prosecutor of the county Public Prosecutor's Office in Rijeka, recording] The first

five accused are charged with conspiracy to murder Fikret Abdic in the area of Provok [place-name as heard] on instructions from Ejub Ikic, chief of the State Security Center in Bihac.

They were to receive a reward of 100,000 German marks and business premises for this action. [end recording]

[Modric] The county court in Rijeka will determine the date of the hearing this month. If found guilty by the county court, the members of the terrorist group face up to 15 years in prison.

Croatia: Council Considers Amnesty for E. Slavonia Serbs*LD0605093496 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 6 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Defense and National Security Council has held a session chaired by the president of the Republic. The council discussed an amnesty for those who are currently living in the area under transitional administration and who participated in the rebellion against the Republic of Croatia but who did not commit any war crimes. The issue of the Republic of Croatia joining NATO's Partnership for Peace program was also discussed.

Croatia: Government Discusses Amnesty, Reintegration Issues*LD0605160296 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 May 96*

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Tudjman chaired a session today of the Croatian National Defense and Security Council at which the issue of amnesty for those who had participated in the rebellion against the Republic of Croatia, who live in the area under temporary administration, and who have not committed war crimes was discussed.

Croatian membership in NATO's Partnership for Peace program was also discussed.

The Croatian Government will submit to parliament as a matter of urgency the draft law on amnesty for those who have committed criminal offenses but not war crimes in the areas of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem. The government offered its support for General Jacques Klein, administrator of the transitional administration, and defined a time frame for the peaceful reintegration of the area.

Milena Jukic-Ugrin reports:

[Jukic-Ugrin] The draft amnesty law is an additional effort on the part of the Republic of Croatia to expedite the peaceful reintegration of the Croatian Podunavlje, Prime Minister Matesa said.

The law itself was described by Justice Minister Miroslav Separovic:

[Separovic] "The draft amnesty law grants pardon from criminal prosecution and criminal investigation to all those who committed criminal offenses during the armed conflict and war against the Republic of Croatia, or in connection with this conflict and war, and whose places of residence are in the temporarily occupied territory of Croatian Podunavlje."

[Jukic-Ugrin] The pardon applies to offenses committed after 17 August 1990 to the beginning of the demilitarization process.

[Separovic] "According to this law, the pardon does not include those who have committed offenses which Croatia is obliged to prosecute in accordance with international law and those who have committed the gravest offenses against the Republic of Croatia."

[Jukic-Ugrin] The main document the government approved today was a timetable for the peaceful reintegration of the Croatian Danubian area. The timetable begins tomorrow with the opening of the Zagreb-Belgrade highway and will end on 15 January 1997, Deputy Prime Minister Ivica Kostovic said.

[Kostovic] "The current UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia] mandate virtually ends when elements of a law-governed state are due to come into effect. However, the process of clearing mines will continue."

[Jukic-Ugrin] General Jacques Klien, transitional administrator for the Croatian Danubian area, attended the Croatian Government session and said that international forces will deploy in the Croatian Danubian area by 15 May.

[Klein, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] "I told General [name indistinct] that the demilitarization of the Croatian Danubian area should begin as early as 15 May, and certainly no later than 1 June."

[Jukic-Ugrin] The Zagreb-Belgrade motorway will open tomorrow to international traffic. This is one of the most important steps in the normalization of relations between the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as well as in the process of the peaceful reintegration of the Croatian Danubian area, it was said at the government session today. Interior Minister Ivan Jarnjak visited the Bajakovo border crossing on Satur-

day and realized that the Serbian authorities had built a new border crossing with Croatia two years ago.

[Jarnjak] "That is the best sign for the Serbs in Croatia to forget any possible links with Serbia, because the Serbs themselves began building that facility more than two years ago. They knew then that the dream of Greater Serbia was doomed and that this was the border with the Republic of Croatia."

[Jukic-Ugrin] We heard at the government session that the Republic of Croatia can be satisfied with the progress so far toward reintegrating the Croatian Danubian area.

Croatia: Defense Issues Strain Zagreb-Sarajevo Relations

LD0405181496 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1738 GMT 4 May 96

["Pool" item by Savo Tomasevic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, May 4 (TANJUG)—The construction of the Moslem-Croat Federation is not done at a rate the United States, the federation architect, has desired, but has over the past few days been marked by strained relations between Moslems and Croats who have clashed over the issue of how to organize their joint defence.

Zagreb's and the Sarajevo Moslem government's trading of strong accusations indicates that the issue will not be solved so soon.

According to the Sarajevo Moslem government, the main reason why the federation has not yet passed the defence law, although it has been drafted for some time now and has been strongly backed by Washington, is the fact that Moslems insist on an integrated federation army while Croats do not want to give up their army.

Croatian Defence Minister Gojko Susak recently told the Zagreb daily VJESNIK that the disbandment of the Bosnian Croat army was not even being contemplated and that Croatia insisted that the federation army have only joint command.

Responding to Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic's statement to the effect that the Zagreb position that Croatia must defend the interests of Bosnian Croats, Susak said, "not only do we have the right to defend their interests, but it is our obligation, too, because the Croatian Constitution stipulates that Croatia protect all its citizens and that is what Croats in Bosnia are."

"If Croats living there are threatened in any way, our state must do all it can to enable them to survive... These

are the very conditions under which we have agreed to talks in Washington and Dayton,' he said.

The Sarajevo daily AVAZ, close to Izetbegovic and the Moslems' ruling Party of Democratic Action, called Susak 'the protector of the parastate of Herzeg-Bosnia.'

The Bosnian Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia coexists with the Moslem-Croat Federation and, according to the Sarajevo Moslem government, indicates that Bosnian Croats intend to secede from Bosnia-Herzegovina which is a single state.

AVAZ said one could not but wonder if, after exercising their democratic right in the federation to reject Croats' unrealistic requests, Moslems would not be faced with Croatian president Franjo Tudjman's troops' advance against Bihac, Sarajevo or eastern Mostar.

VJESNIK immediately responded to the report published by AVAZ after the United States had announced that it would launch the equip and train project, by saying Izetbegovic would like to eat his cake and to have it too, which the paper said meant that, once he received financial assistance, he intended to equip and train the Moslem army, eliminating at the same time the Bosnian Croat army.

Consequently, he has launched a campaign in certain international circles alleging that the Bosnian Croat army constitutes a threat to Bosnia-Herzegovina, the paper said.

VJESNIK said Izetbegovic had again tried to conceal his true intentions behind the idea of a multiethnic state, insisting that the federation army should not be based on ethnic or religious principles.

The paper said it was hard to believe that Izetbegovic acted in good faith, because it said his close ties with Iran and other Islamic countries that trained his army were well known.

VJESNIK also said Izetbegovic refused to give up his intention to place the Bosnian Croat army as well as the Bosnian Serb army under the command of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and said the commander of such an integrated army would be a member of the 'predominant' Moslem people.

Croatia: Zagreb-Belgrade Highway To Reopen at Bajakovo

LD0705101496 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 7 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Zagreb-Belgrade highway will formally open at noon today at Bajakovo, the border crossing between Croatia and Yugoslavia. Five years ago, the Zagreb-Belgrade road was an important

transit link between Southeast and Western Europe. Around 15,000 vehicles traveled this road daily until mid-September of the war year 1991.

General Jacques Klein, transitional administrator, and Interior Minister Ivan Jarnjak visited the state border crossing on 4 May and decided on the traffic flow, Croatian police and customs stations, and posts for UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia] forces on the 7-km stretch of the highway from [Serb]-occupied Lipovac to Bajakovo, on the Croatian state border with Yugoslavia.

Two years ago, Yugoslavia erected a state crossing at Bajakovo with modern infrastructure, customs, and transport facilities.

Croatia: Rights Official Denies Collaborating With Security Bodies

LD0305124996 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1138 GMT 3 May 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, May 3 (TANJUG)—The president of the Croatian branch of the Helsinki Human Rights Committee, Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, has rejected as 'untruthful and false' accusations by Croatia's leading daily VJESNIK that he had collaborated with the state security service of the former Yugoslavia since 1966.

In a front-page story about Cicak, published in its Tuesday issue, VJESNIK said it has documents which allegedly prove such activities by Cicak and which were seized in 1995 by the Croatian Army during Operation Storm in Knin, centre of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Recalling that in 1966 he had been in high school from where he had been expelled after writing that his country is Croatia, and not Yugoslavia, Cicak told Zagreb weekly GLOBUS that 'the next step of the authorities' is probably his 'physical elimination.'

'The authorities have decided to destroy five factors in Croatia's political life: the Croatian Helsinki Human Rights Committee, and in the political sphere—the papers FERAL TRIBUNE and NOVI LIST, published in the Adriatic cities of Split and Rijeka, and in the media sphere—Zagreb papers GLOBUS and NACIONAL,' Cicak said.

GLOBUS also quoted the head of the service for the protection of Croatia's constitutional order, Smiljan Reljin, as saying that 'nothing is known whether Cicak had worked for the state security service of the ex-Yugoslavia.'

Following Croatia's violent secession from the former Yugoslav Federation in 1991, Cicak split with Presi-

dent Franjo Tudjman and became one of his most ardent critics, and the Croatian Helsinki Human Rights Committee—one of the fiercest critics of Croatia's state policy.

'The critical attitude of the Croatian Helsinki Human Rights Committee was prominent during the mass deportation of the families of the officers of the former Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) two years ago, and especially at the time of Operation Storm when this organization's activists persistently insisted on finding the perpetrators of the crimes committed against the Serb population,' GLOBUS said.

'The new Cicak affair is important because it introduces open repression into Croatian politics,' GLOBUS said.

Croatia: Commentary Views 1995 'Expulsion' From W. Slavonia

AU0305063496 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 1 May 96

[Commentary by Jovan Vljakovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Exactly a year ago, the Croatian Army, with the help of the brigades of the Interior Ministry, carried out the aggression against Western Slavonia. Although the area was under the direct protection of the United Nations, there was a mass exodus. What had been started in November 1991, when thousands of Serbs [words indistinct] from Podravska Slatina, Daruvar, Garesnica, Pakrac, and Slavonska Pozega, was continued in 1995 with the expulsion from Western Slavonia. Only several months later, with Operation Storm, the job of ethnic cleansing was completed before the eyes of the entire world.

While Tudjman gives away medals for flashes and storms and tries to (?make equal) the killed with the killers and unite them in Jasenovac, it is other people who are going to The Hague.

Those who were washing Western Slavonia on that May Day to clean the blood off the asphalt have not been invited to The Hague. And blood there was—it was mostly women, children, and elderly people who ended up under the tank tracks [words indistinct]—or were shot down while [words indistinct], moving through Nova Varos on the night of 1 and 2 May.

The exact number of people who were killed on those two days will never be known. The victims were later buried in mass graves, at night, and the United Nations was not allowed access to Sector West for as long as it took to destroy the evidence.

Most of the expelled Serbs from Western Slavonia are now settled in the area of the Serb Province of

Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem. Today, they remember those who are no longer with us, those who last May bravely defended themselves in Paklenica, Pakrac, [name indistinct], and Medari.

Croatia: Serb Organization Favors Human Rights Protocol

LD0305165696 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1533 GMT 3 May 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Zagreb, 3 May (TANJUG)—The League of Serb Organizations in Croatia today requested that the FRY and Croatia sign a protocol on the protection of human and minority rights as part of the overall normalization of Serbian-Croatian relations.

Milorad Pupovac, president of the League of Serb Organizations, presented Veljko Knezevic, head of the FRY Bureau in Zagreb, with a written draft document that the two sides could sign and asked that it be sent to FRY Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic.

In his talks with Knezevic, Pupovac said he welcomed efforts made so far to normalize relations between the FRY and Croatia and said the matter was of exceptional importance to Serbs in Croatia.

He said that about half a million Serbs had fled Croatia and are now mainly in the FRY and the Serb Republic, but it is of the utmost importance that they be given the right to return. That right, he said, is currently very restricted and strictly controlled by the Croatian authorities. [passage omitted]

Croatia: E. Slavonia's Hadzic: Serb-Croat Relations Normalizing

AU0305165796 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1450 GMT 3 May 96

["Exclusive" interview with Goran Hadzic, president of the Eastern Slavonian Serbs, by Momcilo Boskovic; place and date not given; from the "Argument Vise" program—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Boskovic] What is the general political situation like today in the Serb Region of Eastern Slavonia and Western Srem [Serb variant of Srijem]?

[Hadzic] Following the changes that have taken place here and the founding of the assembly, the situation has somewhat stabilized. The emigration has stopped. We are now trying to stop the crime that has taken root. People are becoming happier. I think that with time, the situation will normalize.

[Boskovic] During the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the events in Borovo Selo yesterday, you said

the emigration of the Serb population will stop and that your leadership will strictly adhere to the Erdut and Dayton agreements.

[Hadzic] That's right. We will use all political means to see that there is full compliance with the Erdut and Dayton agreements. Our obligation, however, is the Erdut agreement, which we have signed, and we want to see that all 14 points are fully complied with so the Serbs in this region can exercise their rights and remain living where they are now.

[Boskovic] Everyone who has moved out of the region or who has relatives and friends there is, understandably, following events there very carefully. Can you say something about that?

[Hadzic] Those who have moved out will probably return as the situation continues to change. They will probably become aware that the normalization of Serb-Croat relations in general will contribute to the normalization of life in this region and that this region will open up to Europe and the world. In our (view), and according to our estimates, the people here will begin to prosper. [passage omitted]

Croatia: E. Slavonia Leader Continues To Push for Serb Rights

LD0305193196 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1817 GMT 3 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 3 May (TANJUG)—Goran Hadzic, president of the Serb region of Eastern

Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, today said that the leadership of the region will use all political means available to fight for the Serbs to stay and live there.

This fight, according to what Hadzic told Radio Belgrade's first program, is based on the respect of the right of Serbs, in line with the Dayton and Erdut Agreements, to live in the region.

Hadzic added that the normalization of life in the region and the normalization of overall relations between Serbs and Croats will contribute to the return of those who had left.

"In the context of the opening of the Serb region to Europe and the neighboring countries, we support the opening of the Belgrade-Zagreb highway," Hadzic explained in the "Another Point" program.

He announced an agreement on the opening of oil fields and the resumption of oil exploitation. The opening of the road between Beli Manastir and the Hungarian border is also planned, Hadzic said.

"With the help of the international community and Serbia, we will ensure the basic conditions necessary for our continuing to live here," Hadzic said.

Poland: Walesa's Coming Visit to U.S. Previewed
WS0605125096 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 4-5 May 96 p 2

[Article by Kazimierz Groblewski: "During His U.S. Trip in May, Walesa Will Meet With Clinton"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *During his trip to the United States in May, former President Lech Walesa will meet with U.S. President Bill Clinton. "The details have not been agreed upon yet, but it is already known that the meeting will take place," we found out at the Warsaw Walesa Foundation on 30 April. Walesa also is likely to hold talks with former U.S. President George Bush and Bob Dole, Clinton's opponent in the race for the presidency. However, these decisions have not been made yet.*

Walesa is first going to England, then to the United States, and in June he will visit Japan. In all of those countries, he will deliver lectures to promote Poland's aspirations to join European structures.

On 17 May he will deliver a speech for entrepreneurs in Leeds, England. From there he will fly to the United States. It will be his second visit to the United States within a short time. He will deliver a speech at the Ronald Reagan Foundation on the political heritage of the former U.S. President. Walesa will be one of the first lecturers in the history of this foundation. He will stay one week in the United States. In New York he will collect the "Path to Peace" award, granted to him by the papal nuncio to the UN for his contribution to peace. Aside from his talks with U.S. politicians, his most important meeting will take place in Chicago, where he will talk with representatives of the Polonia community.

The former president's visits, the theses of his presentations, and organizational details are handled by the "Lech Walesa Institute" foundation in Warsaw. [passage omitted]

Poland: Bundeswehr IG: Joint Corps With Denmark Possible

WS0605123696 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA
in Polish 6 May 96 pp 1-2

[Article by "WK": "After the Bundeswehr Inspector General's Visit to Poland; The Alliance and a Joint Corps in the Future"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"Denmark might play an important role in our cooperation with Poland. During talks with General Wilecki, we spoke of establishing an international Danish-German-Polish corps," said General Hartmut Bagger, Inspector General [IG] of the Bundeswehr, at a news conference closing the visit he paid*

to Poland at the invitation of Chief of General Staff General Tadeusz Wilecki.

"This is my first visit to this part of Europe," stressed Gen. Bagger. "I came to Poland primarily because Poland has close contacts with our Armed Forces and the Armed Forces of NATO."

The general added that talks with the defense minister, the chief of General Staff, and officers of our Armed Forces confirmed his belief that cooperation and mutual relations have developed very dynamically in recent years, which is yet another sign that Poland is on the best track toward becoming part of the Western security structures.

In reference to the statement made by the Bundeswehr IG, Gen. Wilecki said that he met with support for our aspirations to join the alliance in the course of the numerous talks he held with NATO politicians and army commanders. "In sporting terms," added the chief of General Staff, "it seems we are nearing the finishing line for joining NATO military structures." Pointing out that mutual understanding of military cooperation between our two armies is good—which was unthinkable several years ago—he stressed it is very important that no one has the impression that it serves to reinstate to the old border that divided Europe in half into the former Warsaw Pact and NATO. That is why cooperation with the remaining states of East Europe, including Russia, is so important.

What are the prospects of establishing an international corps comprising three divisions—Danish, German, and Polish? Gen. Bagger said the formation of such a corps might be expected once Poland becomes a member of NATO.

Poland: PM Asks Media Not To Give Publicity to Terrorists

LD0705090096 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program
Network in Polish 0600 GMT 7 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The government has appealed to the media not to relent to terrorists and publish their letters. The appeal is connected with the blackmail campaign against the Shell concern. After a statement made by the government press spokeswoman yesterday, the publication of terrorists' demands was condemned today by Prime Minister Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz in an interview given to Polish radio.

[Begin Cimoszewicz recording] Some newspapers have published the blackmailers' letter, which is in breach of the custom and practice known in Western countries—for example, in Germany and Great Britain. This is a serious mistake, a serious mistake one must not

make. Such actions benefit the blackmailers, in this case terrorists. They allow them to assume some ideological mask that has nothing to do with the brutal crime they committed. Moreover, what these people want is publicity for their activities. One should not cooperate with them. [end recording]

Poland: Rightists Protest at SLD Ceremony in Lublin

LD0305192296 Warsaw PAP in Polish
1620 GMT 3 May 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Lublin, 3 May—Several thousand inhabitants of Lublin [eastern Poland] took part in the city center today in a ceremonial roll call organized on the anniversary of the passing of the 3 May Constitution. Flowers were laid at the monument to the 3 May Constitution.

Supporters of right-wing groups shouted insults to the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] during the ceremony and protested when representatives of the ruling parties laid flowers at the monument.

The ceremonies began with a Mass celebrated in the Lublin archcathedral by the Lublin metropolitan, Archbishop Boleslaw Pylak. After Mass, everyone marched to the place of the roll call. During the march, some demonstrators marching with banners of right-wing parties shouted slogans against the Left.

The shouts intensified when flowers were being laid by representatives of the ruling groups, and, when the delegation of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] approached with their flowers, a group of demonstrators tried to force its way into the square and disrupt them. There were scuffles with the municipal guard, which did not allow the demonstrators through. The police were not in sight.

At a news conference by the Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland [ROP], Wojciech Wlodarczyk, one of the leaders of ROP, said that it was not members of that party who had disrupted the ceremony. "This was a spontaneous, understandable reaction by young people, who rebel when they see certain people paying homage to values that until recently they fought against," Wlodarczyk said. [passage omitted]

Poland: Council Adopts Mining Industry Restructuring Program

WS0705090096 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 4-5 May 96 p 9

[Article by L.O.: "The Council of Minister Has Approved the Program of Restructuring the Mining Sector; Within Five Years, 4.5 Billion Zlotys"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The program of restructuring the hard-coal-mining industry until the year 2000, approved by the government on 30 April, envisions a reduction in output from 130 to 110 million tonnes and closure of approximately 20 inefficient pits.*

The program also envisages a reduction in employment by approximately 80,000 people; however, this will not involve group layoffs. The projected increase in efficiency is approximately 30 percent. Coal prices are not to go up faster than the inflation rate. According to Deputy Minister Jerzy Markowski, from 1988 the mining industry should have yielded profits and been competitive on foreign markets. The government decided that it would support these transformations by allocating for that purpose 4.5 billion zlotys [Z] over five years. This sum will be used to finance, among other things, the costs of liquidating some of the mines as well as the costs of providing social benefits. To the aforementioned sum we should add Z816 million for guarantees of repayment of investment loans and Z1.1 billion for supporting the technological restructuring of the mining industry and reducing the sector's debts.

According to Industry Minister Klemens Scierski, it is the most difficult restructuring program the government has adopted so far, and it concerns the sector that is the most difficult to handle. "Our mining industry is extracting as much coal as all of the EU countries, but we employ 100,000 miners more than they. Implementation of the five-year program will make it possible to alter this state of affairs. The program includes specific rules of organizational, financial, and technological restructuring," Minister Scierski said at a meeting with journalists. He pointed out that responsibility for the restructuring of this sector will be borne by an agency employing top-notch managers. There are also plans to hold meetings with Sejm deputies, trade unions, and regional self-governments to discuss the problems the Polish mining industry is encountering and proposals to resolve them. In the minister's opinion, this is to lead to cooperation not only in reforming this sector, but also in creating new branches of the economy and new places of work.

According to Minister Markowski, the current program differs from its predecessor in that it splits duties

between the sector and the state. This program is also the last one because no one will give the mining sector such a chance as this one.

Markowski believes that the reason this year's results achieved by the sector are no better than last year's is that the conditions in which it is functioning have not changed. At the end of December 1995, long- and short-term debts rose to Z8.134 billion, and outstanding accounts receivable rose to Z2.9983 billion.

Now that the Council of Ministers has approved the program of restructuring the mining industry, the government will again be able to try to get a loan of \$350 million from the World Bank.

Poland: Gas Industry Ties to Russia Explored

WS0705075096 Warsaw NIE in Polish 18 Apr 96 p 5

[Article by Marek Baranski in association with Maciej Wisniewski: "The Gas War"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Dear Reader! When you turn on the gas to boil water for your tea, prepare malt for brewing, wash your behind in warm water, or simply blow up your apartment with that mean bitch living in it, it just never crosses your mind how much agitation that hissing gas pipe can bring—the war between the West and the East, between us and them, between Polish Catholics and those pain in the neck postcommunists.*

It never crossed our thick heads for even a second, not until we ran into Aleksander Gudzowaty and his Bartimpex [company].

We discovered that 20 billion old zlotys [Z] out of the Z27 billion Walesa spent on his unsuccessful presidential campaign were given to him by Aleksander Gudzowaty, head of the family-owned Bartimpex company, trading in gas with the giant Russian state-owned Gazprom corporation since 1991. Whats more, bunches of guys from the secret service, awkwardly dressed up as businessmen—that is, simply as chums or friends of the family—are all involved in the business. We describe this in full detail (in "Walesa Hanging on a Pipe"—N.E. issue 4/96) and waited for a scandal to break out. It never came. What a tough break, as they say.

The Gas Empire

The world's largest natural gas reserves are in Russia. Its potential reserves were estimated (1 January 1994) at 212 quadrillion cubic meters. Already 49 quadrillion cubic meters have been documented—that is, approximately 35 percent of the world's total. Russia's share in all documented European gas reserves is 76 percent.

It was in 1990 that we demanded of those Russian sons of a gun that all mutual settlements be made

in U.S. dollars. During softie [former Prime Minister] Mazowiecki's term of office, it all stopped at words, but then the second-rate Jan Krzysztof Bielecki (who led the next cabinet) showed what a tough guy he was and had the Russians meet our dollar-calculated ambitions. As a result of the "new Eastern policy," devised and effected by Solidarity politicians, the prices that we had to pay for Russian gas rose fivefold or sixfold, and debts of PGNiG—the main state-owned purchaser of gas—neared \$300 million.

The Russians, whom we paid less and less, scrupulously carried out the terms of the long-term contract for the delivery of gas, the so-called Orenburg-Yamburgsk contract. It provided for the delivery of barely 5 billion cubic meters of gas per year, less than half of our actual needs.

European Freestyle Wrestling

Russians pipe gas over a distance of 4,000 kilometers, and, though they mine the gas, their revenue is far lower than that of large Western companies distributing it to end users through their own much shorter pipelines, the construction and maintenance costs of which are far lower. They said: Let us join, and were refused.

In the face of such determined defense of Western financial interests, the Russians came up with the concept of increasing profits by establishing mixed Russian and foreign capital enterprises. They still have to share the revenue but nevertheless earn much more than by simply piping gas. In Poland, Gas Trading is such a [joint capital] venture.

Gas Trading is owned by: Gazprom—with a 35 percent share; the Polish Petroleum and Gas Mining Company (the state-owned PGNiG company, the only Polish buyer of Russian gas)—30 percent; Aleksander Gudzowaty's Bartimpex—25 percent; Weglokoks—5 percent; and the German company WIEH GmbH—5 percent. None of the partners is an incidental partner. PGNiG bought gas from Gazprom through Weglokoks, Bartimpex, and WIEH. When Gas Trading was about to be formed in December 1992, Bartimpex had already completed its best deals with PGNiG, and the firm and its owner were already rich.

Dough, an Ethereal Substance

At the Polish Petroleum and Gas Mining Company, the beginning of the 1990's is still remembered with horror to this very day. Because the company was insolvent, the Russians refused to provide any gas outside the quotas already agreed upon under the Orenburg agreement. They hinted, however, that PGNiG could buy gas from Polish companies that had a supply because they had

paid for it. This is how the first contract with Bartimpex was signed.

Aleksander Gudzowaty has the Russians' trust, which to them often means more than money. He had done business with them as a director of socialist state-owned foreign trade companies. That counts. So do his contacts with people from the secret services for whom work in foreign trade companies served as a natural cover, which explains why there were so many of them there. Anyhow, it was for Aleksander Gudzowaty that the Russians created the natural opportunity of making a fortune, one so large that he would have to be treated seriously. He was given access to the so-called East German quota—that is, to the gas long reserved for East Germany. Though East Germany no longer existed, the quota was still untouched. What is more, it was made available at the lowest prices in the region due to the commitment Russians had made to repay Germans for their help in circumventing rigorous COCOM [Coordinating Committee on Export Controls] regulations barring the sale of state-of-the-art pipe construction technology to the East. This is the secret behind the lowest price offered by Bartimpex to the panting PGNiG. Bartimpex was additionally able to negotiate payment in Polish goods on the agreement with the Russians and obtain several months' deferral of payments to PGNiG. The sale of food to Moscow in exchange for gas was another such lucrative deal. It was a contract that, I have heard, drew the personal interest of [Russian] Ambassador Kashlev.

Aleksander Gudzowaty needed no more encouragement. He soon became PGNiG's partner in the largest gas entrepreneurship venture since the signing of the contract for Orenburg-Yamburgsk gas.

Gazprom, PGNiG, and Gas Trading, in which Bartimpex has a 25-percent share, formed the Europol-Gaz company. It will build the Polish stretch of the new gas pipeline carrying gas to Western Europe from newly developed fields on the Yamal Peninsula.

An Appetite for Green

In 1992 Bartimpex sold more than \$1 million worth of mere onions in return for Russian gas. It also traded in potato meal, wheat, barley, pickles, and apples. The same commodities were sold in following years: apples, sugar, butter, fruit juices. These food-in-exchange-for-gas transactions could not fail to attract the attention of the PSL [Polish Peasant Party] for too long. This form of trade would be ideal for the PSL; it would guarantee the peasant electorate's lifelong gratitude. In addition, it could also trade in other products Gudzowaty trades in: machines, porcelain, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals...hey, fellas, it's all worth mountains of money!

It was too late, unfortunately. Europol-Gaz had already been formed, and so had Gas Trading; contracts had been signed. Yet the very existence of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]-PSL coalition, the prime ministership and PSL presidency of Waldemar Pawlak, as well as the presence of the deputy prime ministers and PSL ministers, gave some reason for hope. A letter signed "President Marian Bledniak" landed on Pawlak's desk in November 1994. Mr. Bledniak is "president" of the Lodz-based Galtex company, whose business is also trade with Russia. In the Galtex "president's" message, full of patriotic overtones, Bledniak set Pawlak against Gudzowaty by arguing that Gas Trading owns a 4-percent share in Europol-Gaz, in which Poles and Russians both have a 48-percent share. Yet Gas Trading is only 30-percent owned by Poland. The remainder is in Russian hands or those of Gudzowaty's Bartimpex. To top it all, 5 percent is owned by Germans. Though it is true Gudzowaty is Polish, "President" Bledniak would like to bring to the attention of the "Right Honorable Mr. Prime Minister" that, if Gudzowaty wishes to reach an agreement with the Russians and decides to consolidate his shares in the Gas Trading company with those of Gazprom, Poland will be in a shitty position and will have no say in Europol-Gaz. This possible and misfortunate scenario has to be avoided now, and "President" Bledniak's Galtex company is therefore prepared to assume a 2-percent share in this pipeline deal. This will of course require tough renegotiating with the Russians at the highest echelons of power and changes in the existing agreement.

There is something, however, "President" Bledniak will not boast about. Galtex is not completely unknown to the present coalition. "President" Bledniak knows people from the SLD and has even better contacts with the PSL. Curiously enough, these contacts are the Peasant Party's experts on foreign trade: official experts, such as Leslaw Podkanski, former minister of foreign economic cooperation, and the present minister, Jacek Buchacz, as well as unofficial experts such as Piotr Bykowski. It so happens that the Agency for Economic Development, cofounded by Minister Podkanski and fully controlled by the PSL at present, had guaranteed the Galtex contract for cotton from Uzbekistan. The contract fell through, unfortunately, and will have to be paid for by the guarantor.

It might be added in this context that State Treasury assets were used to establish the Agency for Economic Development and that these assets serve to cover all possible debts resulting from bad deals. I have mentioned this to show that Galtex is tied to the PSL leadership both physically and psychologically, so to say. Thus, "President" Bledniak's letter to [former]

Prime Minister Pawlak may of course be interpreted as an indication of his concern for the supreme interests of our beautiful motherland; nevertheless, there is reason to believe it is a reflection of attempts of high-ranking PSL officials to catch onto this lucrative deal. All the more so because the argument that Bartimpex may betray patriotic ideals by selling its shares to the Russians is full of hot air.

Nobody in Europol-Gaz can make the slightest move without simultaneously obtaining approval from the two largest shareholders: the Russian Gazprom and the Polish PGNiG. This is a consequence of the provisions of the articles of incorporation. Another charge also has not been confirmed. Namely, the alleged claim that the state-owned Polish Petroleum and Gas Mining Company, although it has permanently been one of the State Treasury's largest debtors, has at the same time settled its payments with Bartimpex, a private company. I checked with the Ministry of Finance to verify this information.

A competent official assured me that PGNiG's financial situation is under careful scrutiny and that there have been absolutely no indications of an insidious game being played with the fiscal authorities.

All of the people I have talked with in my attempt to clarify the mystery surrounding trade in natural gas have demonstrated exceptional unanimity in stating that the PSL has been casting its eyes with the so-called petrochemical sector. It has an appetite for the large gas pipeline linking the Yamal Peninsula to West Europe and wants to sit on it at all costs.

Trade in natural gas already generates annually \$400 million in sales. The commission legally due on this sum is in itself enormous. Besides, PGNiG makes payments for goods forwarded to Russia by Gudzowaty to his Bank Wschodni. It well might have paid in this mountain of money to BGZ or some other bank closely tied to the PSL. It is enough for such billions to be deposited in an account for a couple of days at an appreciating dollar rate for the business to be as clean and rosy as freshly picked cherries. There is nothing more to be done; the money just flows in. If the Peasant Party were able to hook its friendly Galtex company onto the pipeline, then, just like Gudzowaty, Galtex would be able to do what it pleases with the legally earned dough. Pay in a few pennies to help the PSL, for instance. And pay the due tax on that, of course.

Initial friendly ties between Gazprom and PSL have reportedly already been established. If Pawlak's team were allowed into Europol-Gaz and allowed a stake in the trade of natural gas, it could lead to PGNiG's being

deprived of its position of a powerful state partner in the business and would lead to a subdivision of the company. Should that occur and the Russians have the opportunity of talking with several weak partners, they will gain a free hand. Anyway—why deliberate over what will happen? They already want direct access to our largest consumers.

People whose job is to look into the future and examine the economic situation several moves in advance warn that, unless the Polish side unanimously takes a decisive "no" position, Polish steel mills, petrochemical works, and homes will surely get their supplies of gas, but the Polish state will be eliminated from the business as an inconvenient intermediary. It will then be left with the gas system and gas plants at most—the costliest and most difficult to maintain.

As the press recently reported, this trend is already becoming apparent. The government has decided to subdivide PGNiG into two separate companies: Polskie Gornictwo Naftowe SA [Polish Petroleum Stock Company] and Polskie Gazownictwo SA [Polish Gas Mining Stock Company]. The closing down of PGNiG means that one of the pillars of the Europol-Gaz company will disappear, along with its share of ownership equivalent to that of the Russian Gazprom corporation—48 percent. This would open the door to renegotiation of the entire contract, precisely as postulated by Marian Bledniak, "president" of the Galtex company, in his letter to the "Right Honorable Mr. Prime Minister" Waldemar Pawlak.

It seems that those people interviewed, who tried to convince me that the greatest threat to Poland's sovereign participation in the construction of the trans-European gas pipeline lies in the greediness of the ruling class, were quite correct in their judgment. [There lies the problem and] not in Gudzowaty's Bartimpex, which we almost know everything about now.

Claws

This is where one simple piece of information has led us (we first learned that a businessman had supported Lech Walesa, whom we dislike, with Z20 billion). Before our very eyes, a real and quiet front has unfolded, where two gas armies rage furious battle. Poland is caught in the middle. Instead of agreeing on securing the best position for ourselves between the giants, we are fractured by small party interests. The Union of Polish Cities—a self-government body and extension of the Freedom Union is urging the concept of granting approval to the access of a "third party" to our largest consumers of natural gas. The Union is of course counting on using this avenue for introducing Western gas to Poland—as a counterbalance to the Russian gas. This concept advanced by the Union

may, however, result in our continued import of the same Russian gas, yet through Western pipelines, and at a higher price.

The SLD is passively observing the situation, dreading that somebody may accuse it of a closeness to the Russians that exceeds official bounds. In addition, it

would rather not antagonize Pawlak, no matter what. It wants to carry on with the coalition until the next elections and is closing its eyes to the Peasant Party's grabbing of anything that falls within the reach of its claws.

Romania: PNTCD Objects to Treaty With Russia
AU0305150496 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 30 Apr 96 p 3

[Article by Roxana Iordache: "The National Peasant Christian Democratic Party: 'The Treaty With Russia Should Not Be Signed in Its Current Form, Which Is Detrimental to Romania's Interests'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Although Petr Roman [president of the Democratic Party—PD] has withdrawn the proposal that he submitted to the NATO Defense Collegium in Rome, turning the Partnership for Peace [PFP] into an institution, which would have meant the indefinite postponement of the possibility of Romania joining NATO, is a profoundly erroneous stand from a political viewpoint. I understand that the proposal, a major political gaffe reminiscent of the 'Iliescu-Gorbachev' treaty, that is, the Romania-USSR Treaty, was the personal viewpoint of Mr. Roman, and not of the Romanian delegation. As a matter of fact, Mr. Roman is still defending that treaty today, which was signed when he was prime minister; moreover, he claims that only the treaty with Ukraine is important at the present time. In the opinion of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD], the treaty with Ukraine raises many mutually contentious issues, hence one should not hurry with it, either." These statements were made yesterday by PNTCD General Secretary Radu Vasile. Referring to the treaty with Russia, Academician Gabriel Tepelea, the party's first vice president, summed up the recent meeting of the Consultative Council of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was also attended by the parliamentary parties. Mr. Tepelea, as a PNTCD representative, raised a number of basic objections, such as:

—The text of the draft document is being kept secret, although it should have been submitted to public discussion, because, as all opposition parties maintain, foreign policy is not the property of a party, but of the whole country;

—The treaty should not be initialed in a hurry, because of the circumstances, as in 1991, but it should aim to promote Romania's interests.

—The treaty should not omit the condemnation of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact and the provision on returning Romania's Treasury, which was confiscated by Moscow;

—The treaty should contain a statement that future relations will be based on the "positive experience to date," which "was the one that facilitated the great unification!"

—Article 1, which in its current form can lead to canceling Romania's right to join NATO, should be reformulated.

Mr. Tepelea also criticized the fact that, judging by Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu's explanations—the minister said that the current text was two years old and it was the maximum that the Moscow State Duma might accept—Romania's rulers are actually guiding themselves by Russia's interests, rather than by our country's interests.

Romania: Failure To Sign Treaty With Russia Regretted

AU0305082396 Bucharest JURNALUL NATIONAL
in Romanian 30 Apr 96 p 3

[Editorial by Constantin Gheorghe: "A Troublesome Corpse"]

[FBIS Translated Text] If we want to improve our relations with Russia, the road chosen by our politicians is obviously not the most productive one. What happened on 27 April at the Parliament Palace [during the meeting of Black Sea Economic Cooperation foreign ministers] is a lesson of how national interests can be eluded for the sake of an exclusively electoral approach to the major problems of domestic and foreign policy. If someone believes that he served the country's interests by preventing the signing of the treaty with Moscow, he is either irresponsible or ill-meaning, all the more so, as these delays—which are made in the most inelegant possible way—only serve Russia's interests. We are sorry to have to say it, but we have again missed an opportunity to prove that we know how to defend our interests. If we are not doing it, why should others do it? As usual, the hysterical choir of anti-Russians sang the "Ribbentrop-Molotov" aria from the "Betrayed at Yalta, Betrayed at Malta" opera. The same pact of sad memory that cost the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, and the Baltic nations much more than it cost us did not prevent them from normalizing relations with Russia, without them making too much hullabaloo about the Ribbentrop-Molotov Treaty. They understood very well that the current borders in Europe are the result of the 1947 Paris Treaty and that they were reconfirmed by the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] signed in Helsinki in 1975. The fact that, after 1989, Germany became reunified and Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and the former Soviet Union were dismantled has nothing to do with the consequences of the treaty signed by Ribbentrop and Molotov, but rather with the policy of spheres of influence, which is a much more serious thing. "Ribbentrop-Molotov" was an expression of this policy, just as Yalta and Malta, come to think of it.

As far as Romania is concerned, it is now much more important for it to avoid as much as possible the effects of the reshuffle of cards in the big geopolitical game caused by the fall of communism rather than to obtain (if it is going to ever obtain) platonic satisfactions, such as the condemnation of the aforementioned pact of sad remembrance. Let us be lucid: Anyone with a guilty conscience will never accept condemning the policy of "spheres of influence." Therefore, the best way to have bad relations with Russia, Ukraine, and even the Republic of Moldova is to dig up this troublesome corpse.

We dare say that Romania's long-term interest is to have good relations both with Moscow, so as to attenuate its fears of our desire to join NATO, and with Chisinau and Kiev. I would even emphasize the latter part of my statement by saying "particularly" with Chisinau and Kiev, so as to be able to better serve the interests of the Romanians in both countries. I do not think that the mentioning or nonmentioning of the effects of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact can change anyway the fate of the Romanians. On the contrary, I would say that the final burial of this corpse, which is a bother for everybody concerned, is to our advantage.

A Romania accepted into NATO and the EU thanks to its responsible behavior and attitude would be enough of an enticement to the Republic of Moldova, so that, within a foreseeable span of time, the unionist dream of the Romanians on both sides of the Prut River may again come true. As for the Romanians in northern Bukovina, their identity could be better defended by a Romania that has excellent relations with Ukraine rather than a Romania perceived by Kiev as a revisionist country.

I do not yet see those responsible politicians who are ready to bury the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact "corpse," despite the inherent electoral risk, and proceed to a policy that gives priority to promoting the interests of all Romanians. This would be an action of political "hygiene," which would have an extremely positive influence on Romania's image in the world—that is, if we really cared about such a thing. There is another problem, too: Are those people who are so loud today on the subject of "treason" absolutely sure that, if Gennadi Zhuganov were to replace Boris Yeltsin in the Kremlin, Romania would obtain a better treaty? We doubt it. Moreover, we believe that the noninitialing of the treaty with Russia is a failure of the entire Romanian political class. Its consequences will be borne by all of us and, as usual, nobody will be called to account for his deeds...

Romania: Article Describes Methods of Electoral 'Frsud'

AU9305110896 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 30 Apr

[Article by Adrian O. Vasiliu: "The Great Electoral Fraud Has Begun"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] One of the most significant postrevolutionary memories of the much-regretted Corneliu Coposu [former president of the opposition National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party], which he aired, both on television and in the written press, is the following: Approximately one month before the 1992 elections, a mysterious person gave him a list containing the percentages that were to be obtained by the various political parties in that year's parliamentary elections. Although he could not believe the story, Coposu kept the list. To his great surprise, when the official results of the ballot were published, he found that, in their struggle for parliament seats, the parties had indeed obtained precisely, even to the first decimal of the figure, the percentages appearing on the list! Everything had happened according to a preestablished plan.

As this year's electoral struggle is expected to be much rougher than the one in 1992, the manipulations and backstage maneuvers have begun earlier, in the very initial stage, namely in the election of the presidents of the electoral commissions. At the Bucharest Municipality Court [TMB], they "selected by a draw" the presidents of the Bucharest and the Ilfov Agricultural Sector [SAI] electoral commissions. As things did not work out well in the previous elections, this time, Judge Corneliu Turianu [TMB president] made sure he "drew" properly, and thus Judges Bedros and Dinu were selected as the presidents of the two commissions. Considering the legal aspect of the way in which the draw was performed, its results should be immediately declared null and void. The reasons? First of all, they did not meet the requirements of the electoral law, which stipulates that the draw has to be announced publicly at least 48 hours before it begins. The way they did it made it practically impossible for impartial observers to attend. The second and most important aspect refers to the fact that the container have held the names of all the TMB judges. What actually happened was that they inserted mere numbers, which allegedly corresponded to the names of certain judges on a list. This list, however, has never been seen by anyone! It was a "secret list," they claimed. Thus, proving an absolutely uncommon ability to memorize things, the TMB president extracted two numbers from the container, after which, without even checking the alleged list, he promptly announced: "Mr. Judge Bedros" and "Mr. Judge Dinu." His job, however, was probably

not too difficult, as he only had to memorize those two names! This is how the two heads of electoral commissions have been "drawn." [passage omitted]

Mr. Turianu could learn a great deal from his 1992 experience as the president of the SAI electoral commission. Here are some minor examples from those days: the bags containing the ballot tickets were picked up with a great delay and in some cases they were not picked up at all. This gave them time to manipulate things as they wished. Ballot tickets bearing stamps favoring the opposition were stamped again, favoring a different party, which made those tickets null and void, as had they simultaneously favored two parties. A different kind of fraud was perpetrated when the constituencies handed in their official ballot reports to the Central Electoral Commission. In cases where the results did not favor the ruling party, they replaced the authentic reports with other, counterfeit ones. And, finally, grand theft was perpetrated when they fed the results into the computers. This case was personally witnessed by Mr. Turianu: By means of a program they had on a diskette, for every 5,000 votes favoring the FDSN [Democratic National Salvation Front—the then name of the current ruling party] they automatically added a further 500 such votes. This year, they will probably increase that percentage. [passage omitted]

Romania: 'Drunken Farmers' Attack Roman in Bacau County

AU0305092796 Bucharest ZIUA in Romanian
30 Apr 96 p 3

[Report by Alina Ristea: "The Incident in Sascut Was Reported to the Police"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The driver of the car that was damaged in the incident on Friday, 26 April, in the commune of Sascut, Bacau County, and the PD [Democratic Party] local organization both officially reported the case to the police. The car belongs to PD Senator Ionel Aichimioaie.

On Friday, PD leader Petre Roman arrived on an electoral visit to the village of Sascut, Bacau County. The delegation he was leading was attacked with rocks and beer bottles by a gang of 15 drunken farmers. They tried to block the access of the PD official cortege to the commune and, at a certain moment, they even started brandishing knives. The entire incident was filmed by the correspondents of LE MONDE and the German ARD television who were accompanying Petre Roman.

According to the Sascut inhabitants, the action had been prepared by Ioan Rauta, the deputy mayor of the commune, a PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] member, who is also vice president of the

team in charge of the electoral campaign of that party in Bacau County. The villagers also say that Ioan Rauta is the bosom buddy of Government Secretary General Viorel Hrebenciuc. Rauta is said to have built himself a house as large as a palace from the money he made by selling certain assets in the locality. Ioan Rauta has been designated by the PDSR to run for mayoral office in Sascut. According to certain PD sources, Rauta is suspected of having a criminal record. With its 11,000 inhabitants, Sascut is the largest commune in Bacau County.

Tonight, the PDSR Standing Delegation is to examine Rauta's involvement in the incident, as well as the necessary steps to be taken, the press bureau of that party reports.

Not long ago, the head of the Local Public Administration Department of the government, PDSR member Octav Cosmanca, stated that there is no need for foreign observers to monitor the elections in our country, because ours is not a nation of thieves.

Romania: CDR, PNL Headquarters in Botosani Ransacked

AU0305103296 Bucharest Radio Romania Network
in Romanian 1300 GMT 2 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, Emil Constantinescu, president of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR], held an extraordinary press conference, at the start of which he discussed the recent decision made by the Romanian Senate by which the senators obtained the right to keep their posts in the government-run economic companies' shareholders' or administration boards [AGA]. Assessing that this decision will favor, on a legal basis, the amplification of the phenomenon of corruption, the CDR president added that, quote, despite the fact that the Romanian president, too, rejected the idea of the legislators being AGA members as well, the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] would not even obey Mr. Ion Iliescu when it comes to the protection of the privileges of some of its outstanding members, unquote.

Emil Constantinescu then continued by discussing the inadequate way, as he termed it, in which the basic treaty between Romania and Russia had been prepared and emphasized that neither the opposition parties nor public opinion had been consulted or asked to cooperate in the elaboration of that document.

Before concluding, the CDR leader informed the press that last night the Botosani City headquarters of the CDR and the National Liberal Party [PNL] had been ransacked by unknown persons, who stole a fax machine

and files on the CDR candidates [running in the 2 June local elections] that has been prepared to be handed in to the Central Electoral Bureau and also cut the telephone lines. In that context, expressing his solidarity with the president of the Democratic Party [Petre Roman], who was recently the victim of a similar assault, the CDR leader assessed that all these incidents are intended to create a state of confusion and to allow for electoral fraud in the coming elections, our correspondent, Victor Caraculac, reports.

At the opening of today's weekly press conference of the PNL, Party President Mircea Ionescu-Quintus briefed correspondents on the events, which he termed extremely serious, of the night of 1 to 2 May, when the building sheltering the Botosani City CDR and PNL headquarters was ransacked by unknown persons.

The visit of the NATO secretary general, Ionescu-Quintus said, will be overshadowed by such manifestations as those in Botosani, as well as the assault on PD leader Petre Roman in Sascut; actions that hinder the democratization of our political life, our correspondent, Silvia Ilies, reports.

Romania: Police Deny Link Between Burglary, Elections

AU0305124596 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 3 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Regarding the burglary during the night of 1 to 2 May at the joint headquarters of Botosani branches of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] and the National Liberal Party, a communique released today by the press office of the Interior Ministry says that the police investigations undertaken immediately showed that no goods were destroyed and no documents were stolen referring to the electoral campaign or to the CDR candidates. The police found that unknown persons broke one of the windows of the building, penetrated it, and thus stole a fax machine, a radio cassette recorder, an attache case, and a stamp of the Sanziana SRL economic company. Furthermore, they stole three pocket calculators and three Romanian coats of arms printed on A4-size sheets of paper.

Currently, the police are undertaking investigations to identify the perpetrators and call them to account.

In conclusion, the Interior Ministry communique says that all other interpretations given to this common-law criminal case lack any real basis.

Romania: 'Violent Incidents' During Iliescu's Cluj Visit

AU0705133596 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 4 May 96 p 2

[Article by Cristina Sofronie Rosca and Paul Popescu: "President Ion Iliescu's Covert Electoral Tour to Cluj Ended in Violent Incidents"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Thursday afternoon, 2 May, Romania's President Ion Iliescu paid a visit to Cluj. The visit ended in whistles and booing when President Iliescu left the building of the Military Circle.

According to reporters on the scene, five men who loudly booed Ion Iliescu were punched in the face by a group of about 20 civilians scattered among the people standing in front of the Military Circle. When the aggression was over these people quickly got into white vans, two of which bore the license plate numbers: CJ-01-RNU and CJ-01-HNN. Likewise, the same sources state that the leader of the group that booed President Iliescu is a public employee named Aurel Coltor, director in the Mayor's Office of Cluj Municipality and a PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party] member.

Although the Local Press Claims a Person Was Disfigured, the Ministry of Interior Says it Has No Knowledge of Any Violent Incident

Recalling statements made by eye witnesses about these violent incidents, the local paper MESAGERUL TRANSILVAN [Transylvanian Messenger], quoted by the agency MEDIAFAX, reports that those who attacked the group that was expressing displeasure with President Iliescu's presence in Cluj were treated in favorable fashion by Cluj County Police Commander Colonel Ioan Moldovan. Yesterday, Interior Minister Doru Ioan Taracila surprisingly stated that he has no knowledge of any violent incident that allegedly took place there.

In complete contradiction with the interior minister's statement, the Cluj local radio stations reported that, as a result of the kicks and punches received in the face, one of those who opposed President Iliescu was disfigured and later mysteriously disappeared. Local radio and press reporters launched an action to search for this person who disappeared after the aggression.

PUNR Deputy Ioan Gavra Says That He Warned President Iliescu "Not To Go To Cluj Because There Will Be Trouble"

Referring to this incident yesterday, PUNR Vice President Ioan Gavra told the local correspondents of our

daily: "I do not know much about what happened. However, something like that was bound to happen in Cluj-Napoca. In fact, I told Mr. Iliescu: 'Do Not Go To Cluj Because There Will Be Trouble!' The incidents are disreputable, there is no other word for them."

"Ion Iliescu Should Stay Home at Cotroceni," Says Ioan Gavra

In his statement, PUNR Vice President Ioan Gavra claims that in spite of Iliescu's statement, the Romanian president did wish to carry out the election campaign in Cluj on the side of the PDSR [Party of Social Democracy of Romania] leadership, which was also visiting this municipality at the time: "Ion Iliescu should stay home at Cotroceni and carry out his electoral program."

In a communique that our editorial office received yesterday, the PDSR leadership "deplores such gestures of political intolerance, which, during the election campaign, might lead to undesired consequences" and urges the law-enforcement bodies "to quickly identify those who are guilty of provoking such actions." Likewise, the PDSR calls on political formations and on citizens to condemn and not to support actions that "are real attempts against the norms of democracy and the rule-of-law state."

On the other hand, the representatives of the Cluj branch of the Democratic Convention of Romania, Democratic Party, Civic Alliance Party, and Liberal Party '93 condemned these violent actions and expressed their belief that such actions "demonstrate the state of despair reached by the PDSR and Ion Iliescu."

Colonel Virgil Ardeleanu, commander of the Cluj Municipality Police, told MEDIAFAX on Friday, that by 1200 local time, no complaint has been filed by any person allegedly attacked on Thursday in the center of Cluj because he was booing President Iliescu.

Colonel Ardeleanu also said that he is waiting for the complaints by injured persons and information about the aggressors.

Romania: PD Senator Says Iliescu Losing Moldavian Votes

AU0305121496 Bucharest AZI in Romanian
30 Apr 96 p 3

[Report by ASIS: "Ion Iliescu Has Lost 80 Percent of the Votes in Moldavia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At a news conference held on Saturday, 27 April, at the headquarters of the PD [Democratic Party] Suceava branch, Mr. Cristian Dumitrescu, a PD senator of Suceava, stated that, in his assessment, "Mr. Ion Iliescu has lost approximately 80 percent of the votes in the Moldavian region" [northeastern part of Romania] although that part of the country seems to be very important for the ruling party. Continuing his speech focusing on the electoral campaign in Moldavia, Mr. Dumitrescu asserted that "Hrebenciuc's hand and Solcanu's brains are preparing political intimidation and repression in Moldavia, the PD being the first party they will target. This fact can be explained also by the fact that the headquarters of the team in charge of the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] electoral campaign is located in the town of Bacau; it is a known fact that Mr. Viorel Hrebenciuc, the secretary general of the government, used to be the Bacau County prefect and, currently, for the second time, he is the head of the PDSR electoral campaign team. The supervisor of this campaign is [PDSR] Senator Solcanu."

Talking about other things, Mr. Dumitrescu stated that "the recent forum of business people in the Black Sea region, combined with a session of [the foreign ministers] of the countries in that economic region, was but a new attempt by President Ion Iliescu to polish up Romania's battered image in Europe and in the world." Due to the fact that the aforementioned forum was paid for from the taxpayers' money, Mr. Dumitrescu said he would request details in Parliament about Romania's financial contribution to the holding of the forum, which "after all, proved to be a total failure."

Federal

FRY: Commission Stresses Need for Refugees To Register

AU0605074196 *Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian*
2 May 96 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Nobody Wants To Return"]

[FBIS Translated Text] More than 100,000 refugees participated in the refugee census since the beginning of the action two weeks ago. This is the information TANJUG received from the Republic Commission for Refugees.

The first results of the census show that 80 percent of the refugees registered so far want to stay in Serbia. There are only a few whose answer to the question about their plans for the future was emigration to third countries or the return to the places of their previous residence.

According to the first unofficial information the best response has been noticed in Vojvodina, especially in Sombor and Apatin, where between 600 and 800 people are being registered every day.

The commission claims that there is a large number of people who have not regulated their refugee status so far. The commission reminds everyone that the list of persons who left their places of residence because of war activities in the territory of former Yugoslavia and who are now in Serbia will be the basis for the realization of their rights, so that it is in the interest of refugees to become registered.

International humanitarian and other help will be granted, the projects of the Serbian government determined, and the money allocated according to the number of the registered refugees as the only criterion. The money for their integration, the creation of new jobs, school enrollment, etc. will be granted exclusively on the basis of their number.

All persons who are registered as refugees will get a card on the basis of which they will be able to realize their rights as of 1 June, regardless of whether they have had refugee status up to now or not.

It is claimed by the commission that the cooperation with the Association for the Support of Refugees and Displaced Persons in Yugoslavia is very good. Also UNHCR representatives work in the field and provide the refugees with necessary information and explanations.

FRY: Electoral Amendment Goal Said To Give SPS Majority

AU0605105296 *Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian*
2 May 96 p 5

[Article by A. Zivotic: "May Day Shock for the Opposition!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Yugoslav Government yesterday [1 May] explained the changes to the Law on Electoral Districts for the election of federal deputies to the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Citizens. According to the new proposal, Serbia would be divided into 27 electoral districts, and Montenegro into 12. In the opinion of the people VESTI interviewed, the result will be a real shock for the opposition!

According to the government's proposal, three to six deputies should be elected in each of the 27 electoral districts in Serbia and from one to seven deputies in Montenegro, in line with the constitutional principle that 65,000 voters elect one deputy. The Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Assembly consists of 138 deputies.

The deputies to the Chamber of Citizens of the Yugoslav Federal Assembly have—according to the current law—been elected in 10 electoral districts—nine in Serbia, whereas Montenegro has consisted of one electoral district.

"The increase in the number of electoral districts shows that the ruling power is nervous and that it is afraid of losses in the coming election," Srdjan Bogosavljevic, a professor of political science, said in a first reaction.

The proportional election system and the 5-percent threshold are retained by this law. By reducing the number of voters per electoral district to around 120,000 voters, however, the big parties are favored. This suits only the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) at the moment. It forces the opposition to form a coalition; in other words, to participate in the election with a joint list of candidates because only in this way can it avoid losing votes to someone else. If an opposition party does not want to put its candidates on the joint list, this will lead directly to a new victory of the SPS.

Bogosavljevic explains what the new distribution of electoral districts could be like. "Let us imagine the situation that the SPS gets around 40,000 votes out of the total of 120,000 in an electoral district, the three-party list (SPO, DS, GSS) [Serbian Renewal Movement, Democratic Party, Civic Alliance of Serbia] around 25,000, and the Serbian Radical Party around 20,000 votes. If the remaining 30,000 votes for the parties that have not reached the threshold (a minimum of 5

percent of the votes) are distributed, the SPS will get two seats in parliament, the joint list of three parties one, and the Serbian Radical Party not a single one! In this way the SPS could obtain two-thirds majority in parliament. It could easily happen that the Serbian Radical Party remains outside parliament regardless of the large number of votes it might obtain. By applying these tactics the SPS is banking above all on the lack of harmony among the opposition and considers that any coalition could be easily prevented. The opposition gives the ruling power arguments for this attitude," Prof. Bogosavljevic believes.

Vojislav Kostunica, chairman of the Democratic Party of Serbia, said yesterday that the proposal to increase the number of electoral districts for the federal election was "a transparent maneuver" and "an expression of how insecure the ruling party felt." "The best response to the latest self-willed and violent act of the Serbian and Montenegrin communists should be a unitary list of the opposition," Kostunica said, adding that the SPS had forced all opposition parties to enter a coalition. "This should be the natural and normal response of the opposition to the proposed changes to the Law on Electoral Districts for the election of deputies to the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Citizens," Kostunica said.

[Box, p 5]

We Are Astonished

"We are astonished by this bill, but it is not difficult to recognize the essence of it," Democratic Party Secretary Ljiljana Lucic says. "The aim is for the SPS to obtain a two-thirds majority without the real support of the voters. This could enable them to change the federal Constitution, which would enable power to be transferred from Serbia to the federation. In effect, this means that the part of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will be changed that refers to the function of the president of the state and the appointment of Slobodan Milosevic to that position. In return, Montenegro would be given the freedom to complete the privatization in the way that was started."

[Box, p 5]

SPO Has Spread Too Many Lies

Vojislav Seselj, the leader of the Serbian Radical Party, assessed the federal government's proposal for an increase in the number of electoral districts for the federal election as a serious blow to all opposition parties.

In a statement issued to the agency BETA, Seselj accused the SPS of having worked out how to return to the majority system since 1992, when it reluctantly agreed to the proportional system, which had been an "obsession of Slobodan Milosevic for the last two years."

In Seselj's opinion the introduction of 27 electoral districts in Serbia means that approximately four deputies to the Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Assembly will be elected in them, which is "very dangerous and a serious blow to all opposition parties."

He also said that he could not imagine a SRS coalition with "Draskovic and the Serbian Renewal Movement, since they had spread so many lies about the SRS during the last few days and months."

[Box, p 5]

A Complete Surprise

Most of the representatives of other opposition parties are astonished by this bill too.

"We know that this law could push us out of parliament," Aleksandar Vucic, general secretary of the Serbian Radical Party, said. "We know that only a joint list can defeat the SPS, but we do not want a coalition with Vuk Draskovic. We do not know who the DSS [Democratic Party of Serbia] will decide to join, but it must go together with somebody, otherwise it will lose badly. If it joins the coalition of the three parties, the Serbian Radical Party definitely has no chance. If it joins our list, we shall attack each other more than the SPS during the election campaign, which could help the socialists again. The situation could in general be described according to the proverb: 'If you take it, you will regret it, if you do not, you will regret it too.'"

Serbia

Serbia: Opposition Protests Against Electoral Law Change

LD0205170496 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1421 GMT 2 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 2 May (TANJUG)—The Civic Alliance of Serbia [GSS] issued a statement today pointing out that "it is completely unacceptable that the electoral law should be changed without consulting the parliamentary opposition and without the normal parliamentary discussion."

"The sudden alteration of the electoral law, effected during the vacations, is a scandal for Serbia and all its citizens," the statement says.

The statement says that the changes aim to increase the electoral census, annul the advantages of the proportional and majority systems, and "ensure that the clear minority can govern in a one-party system, as it has done so far."

Serbia: Commentary Urges Less Freedom of Movement in Bosnia

AU0705102496 Belgrade POLITIKA EKPRES in Serbo-Croatian 6 May 96 p 2

[Commentary by Dejan Stanojlovic: "The Destruction of Peace"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Even after Dayton, the Serbs in the Serb Republic [Serb-held part of Bosnia-Herzegovina] cannot enjoy all the advantages of the recently established peace. Over the last few days their lives have been made miserable by the well-organized and Izetbegovic-orchestrated groups of Muslims. Their former neighbors, now citizens of the Muslim-Croat federation, under the guise of "the freedom of movement," have been trying to provoke incidents in many towns in the Serb Republic and to reignite the conflict.

The destructive efforts by the Muslim extremists have yielded the first, unfortunately tragic, results. In one such instance of practicing "the freedom of movement" two people were killed and seven wounded on 29 April near a place called Sjenina Rijeka seven kilometers northeast of Doboj. The blame for this incident lies squarely with the Muslims is the assessment of Pasi Karenon [name as published], major in the Nordic-Polish Brigade with IFOR [Implementation Force]. Following an investigation into the incident, Major Karenon explained that the Muslims had ignored the warnings issued by the members of the Swedish Battalion not to force their way into the Serb Republic, warnings that preceded the tragic incident.

The freedom of movement in post-Dayton Bosnia-Herzegovina, together with the return of refugees home and free elections, is certainly one of the most important segments of the civilian part of the peace agreement, the implementation of which is considered less successful than the military part. However, the freedom of movement is only in 13th place on the list of rights given in Annex 6 of the Dayton peace agreement. It is way behind the right to life, which is understandably at the very top of the list of all the rights to be enjoyed by both the citizens of the Muslim-Croat federation and the Serb Republic.

It was this very right to life in the Muslim-Croat federation that was lost by March this year to some 120,000 Serbs from Sarajevo. Earlier almost 130,000 Serbs from Glamoc, [Bosanski] Grahovo, Sanski Most,

Bosanski Petrovac, Drvar, Bihac and other parts in western Bosnia also lost their right to life in the Muslim-Croat federation, while at the very start of the war—owing to personal insecurity and under threat of force—the Serbs had to leave Mostar, Stolac, Capljina, Gorazde, and so on.

They were all expelled from their centuries-old homes and none of them are even thinking of going back since they know that they would lose their basic right, the right to life. The Serbs are for the time being using their right to the freedom of movement only in the Serb Republic, thus avoiding provoking tragic and unnecessary incidents.

However, this is not the case with the Muslims. By selecting only what suits them from the civilian part of the peace agreement, and incited by the Islamic fanaticism of their leadership, the Muslims are most directly obstructing the Dayton agreement. They are insisting on the freedom of movement so that they can create another incident (like Markale and Tuzla) in kamikaze style, where the victims would be the naive and deceived people, and the culprits, the alleged guilty party would be the Serbs. Such devious tricks have worked for the Muslim side on several occasions before with the international public and institutions during the war.

Now that the war is over, however, playing with fire, even if it is called using "the right to the freedom of movement," is too dangerous. The calculation that one can harm the enemy by killing one's friends could yet prove wrong.

The Dayton peace agreement, both in its military and civilian parts, can succeed only if it is implemented fully. Obstructions of this kind are in contradiction with the peace efforts by the United States, the EU, and the FRY, which are putting in an enormous effort to make the peace in Bosnia last. So the great powers, the guarantors of peace, should stop the Muslims' deviation from the Dayton peace plan immediately before it endangers the fragile peace in this former central Yugoslav republic.

Kosovo

Kosovo: Press Reports Visit by U.S. OSCE Commission Members

AU0505162696

[FBIS Report] Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian on 25, 26, and 27 April devotes factual coverage to the visit of U.S. Congressmen Wise, Hand, and Hakewick [names as published], members of the OSCE [Organization for

Security and Cooperation in Europe] Commission, to Prishtina on 24 April.

The paper on 25 April carries on page two a 350-word report by the Information Service of the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms [KMDLNJ] describing the congressmen's visit to the KMDLNJ, under the headline "The Albanians Will Not Accept Colonial Status." The report states that KMDLNJ Chairman Adem Demaci told the visiting congressmen, "Europe, by recognizing Yugoslavia, has emboldened the FRY in its inhuman behavior toward the Albanians, and seems to have recognized the FRY's right to keep Kosova as a colony for itself. The Albanians, while they have calmly waited for the West to act on its promises for an acceptable solution through dialogue and peaceful means, will not, as far as I know them, accept colonial status. The people have begun to criticize us increasingly vocally for betraying their interests." The report states, "The U.S. representatives said that they did not have the same standpoint as Europe over Kosova."

The same paper also carries on page two a 400-word report by B. Zogjani on the U.S. congressmen's news conference in Prishtina on 24 April, under the headline, "We Hope that a Solution Will Be Found on a Democratic Road." The report states, "Congressman Samuel Wise said, following the meeting he had had in Belgrade, that the Serbian side saw a solution for Kosova in the framework of Yugoslavia. The European states should have taken the lead in this matter, to stabilize the situation in the region of the former Yugoslavia. The United States became involved in this conflict because it was not an easy task for the European states. I do not see any movement in the United States for U.S. intervention here. However, we hope that the situation will be resolved in a democratic and peaceful way."

RILINDJA on 26 April carries on page three a 300-word report by the Kosova Information Center on the U.S. Congressmen's meeting with representatives of Albanian political parties in Prishtina on the evening of 24 April, under the headline, "Prejudging the Status of Kosova Could Cause Inevitable Conflicts." The report states that Fehmi Agani and Hydajet Hyseni, deputy chairmen of the Kosova Democratic League [LDK]; Rexhep Gjergji, chairman of the Albanian Christian-Democratic Party; and Rifat Blaku, deputy chairman of the Kosova Parliamentary Party, informed the congressmen about the situation in Kosova. The report states, "The representatives of the three parties considered that the recognition of self-styled Yugoslavia by several European states has caused justified disgust among the majority of the population of Kosova."

RILINDJA on 27 April carries a report on a news conference given by LDK Deputy Chairman Hyseni in Prishtina on 26 April, filed as the referent item, in which he thanks the U.S. congressmen for their visit to Kosova.

Kosovo: Rugova, Albanian Diplomats Discuss 'Grave' Situation

AU0305172596 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 3 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In Prishtina today, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova, received Mr. Besnik Konci, charge d'affaires of the Albanian Embassy in Belgrade.

During the meeting, Rugova and the Albanian diplomat discussed the grave situation in Kosova following the latest provocations. They assessed that the incidents were caused with the aim of preventing a peaceful solution to the Kosova issue.

During the meeting, they also discussed the possibilities of resolving the Kosova issue on the basis of the will of the Kosovar people.

Mr. Shkelzen Imeraj, third secretary at the Embassy of the Republic of Albania in Belgrade, also took part at the meeting.

Kosovo: Rugova Warns of Danger of Provocations

AU0505185996 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 4 May 96 pp 1, 3

[Report by Behar Zogjani on news conference by Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova, in Prishtina on 3 May: "Europe's Positive Attitude Toward the Cause of Kosova"]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Rugova began yesterday's news conference by expressing thanks for the stand taken by Mr. Rudolf Perina, U.S. assistant secretary of state for Europe and Canada, following recent tragic events, and for the visits of Mrs. Elizabeth Rehn, special envoy of the UN secretary-general, and the representatives of Mr. Carl Bildt's office, who were in Prishtina yesterday. Dr. Rugova said that his official visits to Austria, France, Belgium, the European Parliament, and the Council of Europe had been successful. He said that Europe takes a positive attitude to the issue of Kosova and shares a commitment with the United States.

Systematic Repression Continues

A child died at Lum i Madh near Vushtrri this week, when an unidentified person threw explosives. A soldier also fired gunshots in Ferizaj, but fortunately there were

no casualties. There were also army and militia movements during the week. A total of 78 people were man-handled and arrested in different parts of Kosova. Systematic repression continued on the pretext of searches for weapons, and family homes were raided and ransacked. There were 23 interventions in 15 communes. Violence against political activists and teachers continued. Two school directors were arrested in Leshan and Sallagrazhde near Suhareke. Considering the serious situation in Kosova, we ask for an end to provocations against Albanians and appeal to Kosova citizens not to fall for them. Dr. Rugova called for an immediate end to repression and said that the best solution is an independent and neutral Kosova open to Albania and Serbia, with an international civilian administration as a transitional phase. We appeal to the international community, especially the United States and the EU countries, to take urgent preventive measures through a greater and more visible presence here, Dr. Rugova said, speaking to a large number of local and foreign journalists.

Replying to questions about Mrs. Rehn's statement about the possibility of applying an international protectorate to Kosova, President Rugova said that this plan was being considered by the United Nations, the United States, and many European countries. Work is being done to see whether this or a greater international presence in Kosova is required. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova also welcomed the very important visit of NATO Secretary Xavier Solana to Tirana and his statement about the U.S. presence in Kosova. He also mentioned the visit of Rudolf Perina and the staff of the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade, who recently visited Prishtina in preparation for the opening of the office in Prishtina in these difficult days, which shows the continual attention of the United States to Kosova.

Europe Disposed To Help Kosova

President Rugova welcomed the idea of holding an international conference on Kosova, and said that work is being done toward this. Asked about his forecasts following his European tour, Dr. Rugova said that the EU, the European Parliament, and the Council of Europe have a positive attitude to the issue of Kosova. The Albanians demonstrated while a meeting was held in Luxembourg, and were received very sympathetically. I can see, Rugova continued, that Kosova remains an open issue for the European community, and we ask for a greater presence of the European community in Kosova. I particular had the impression of a positive disposition to help Kosova from my meeting with Mr. Van Den Broek. Cooperation between the EU and the United States is necessary; I see the future of Kosova as an independent and neutral state with a civilian

international administration in order to avert conflict in Kosova. As for the present serious situation, we as a political movement have always been careful not to allow violence to escalate. The international community and the United States have therefore demanded that the Serbian side should not stage provocations, which could be very dangerous, and whose purpose is to obstruct a peaceful and political solution. Of course, Rugova continued, we will continue to organize better our policy of nonviolence in Kosova, because, as we all know, the situation is very dangerous. Serbia is staying here thanks to its army and police forces, and Serbian civilians are very heavily armed, as was seen in the murder of the Albanian student. In the meantime, the majority in Kosova, i.e. the political movement and the state institutions of the Republic of Kosova, are in control. Various extremist Serbian groups pose a danger, and we therefore ask them to restrain themselves from acts of violence and not to provoke their Albanian neighbors.

We have always been careful, President Rugova continued, because even peaceful demonstrations may allow the situation to escalate. The danger comes from armed Serbian civilians and the various provocations that might occur. I see demands for peaceful demonstrations as normal in order to make the political scene in Kosova more active.

Many political personalities have visited Kosova, attempting to establish dialogue on concrete issues. The representatives of Carl Bildt's office were in Prishtina to prepare for Bildt's visit this month, to explore ways of improving and normalizing life in Kosova. The Geneva Conference discussed concrete issues for two years without success. The attitude of the Peace Implementation Council following the Dayton agreement, which also includes Kosova, is to try to normalize life. We will see how ready the Serbian side is for this. However, I can say that work is being done in many directions to normalize life and to define the status of Kosova on the basis of the political will of the people of Kosova. Of course, international institutions are also working intensively for this.

Kosovo: Rugova Sees Milosevic Seeking Reason for Intervention

AU0705104096 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German
6 May 96 p 142

[Interview with Kosovo "president" Ibrahim Rugova; place and date not given: "The Serbs Are Provoking"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [DER SPIEGEL] In the past two weeks, seven people have been killed in bloody riots in Kosovo. Is a new Balkan war imminent there?

[Rugova] The situation is dangerous. The Serbs want to break our nonviolent resistance and provoke us to ill-considered actions.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you really believe that Serbian President Milosevic would endanger his laboriously achieved reputation as a "peace politician"?

[Rugova] Domestic politics is perhaps more important to him and he again wants to prove to the Belgrade opposition that he is a Serb patriot. It looks as if Milosevic were seeking a reason to intervene militarily.

[DER SPIEGEL] Among your compatriots, criticism of passive resistance, which you have always advocated, is voiced. Radical circles are calling for Kosovo's affiliation with Albania, even through military means.

[Rugova] It is hard to stand Belgrade's reprisals and provocations. However, any military confrontation would be suicide, we have nothing to set against the heavily armed Serb Army. We are seeking a peaceful way to independence. We hope that the West will put pressure on Belgrade, so that the leadership there will come around on the Kosovo issue.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is the West prepared for this?

[Rugova] For seven years, we have avoided a bloody conflict in the Balkans with our peaceful policy. Tribute has to be paid to this—Germany should also make any financial help to Serbia conditional on Milosevic's concessions in Kosovo.

[DER SPIEGEL] But Americans and Europeans have made it clear that more than political autonomy within Serbia cannot be pushed through for the Kosovo Albanians.

[Rugova] No, this is not an acceptable solution for us. As a provisional solution, we propose an international civilian administration. In the next four years, the country would have to be demilitarized and the administrative apparatus would have to pass over again to the Albanians—as before the state of emergency.

[DER SPIEGEL] And the final objective...

[Rugova] ...is and remains a sovereign state.

Kosovo: Pro-Independence Leader Links Future to Serbia

AU0605185996 Paris AFP in English
1822 GMT 6 May 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pristina, Yugoslavia, May 6 (AFP)—Serbia's troubled Kosovo province should ally itself in a confederation with Serbia even after winning independence from Belgrade, a pro-independence Kosovo leader said Monday.

Adem Demaci, chairman of Kosovo's human rights committee, said that once Kosovo was independent, it was "indispensable" to open talks with Serbia and Montenegro on forming a "confederal Balkan community."

Around 90 percent of Kosovo's two million inhabitants are ethnic Albanian, but their appeals for independence have been quashed by Serbia which scrapped the province's autonomous status in 1989.

Tension has remained high. Six people—five Serbians and one ethnic Albanian—died in armed incidents two weeks ago, while an Albanian child was killed in an explosion two days later.

"A confederation would let us foresee the danger of inter-ethnic conflicts in the province," Demaci told journalists here, adding confederation "is the most acceptable solution for Kosovo." "We have to do all we can to prevent an escalation (of these incidents)," he added, calling on the international community to force Serbia to give ethnic Albanians "equal rights."

Demaci, a writer, is an influential politician in Kosovo who favours a tough but non-violent approach to gaining independence. He spent 27 years in jail in the communist era.

He said simply regaining Kosovo's autonomy was "unacceptable because Kosovo does not want to be a Serbian colony." He also called on Kosovo's Albanians to organise protest marches and boycotts to press their cause.

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